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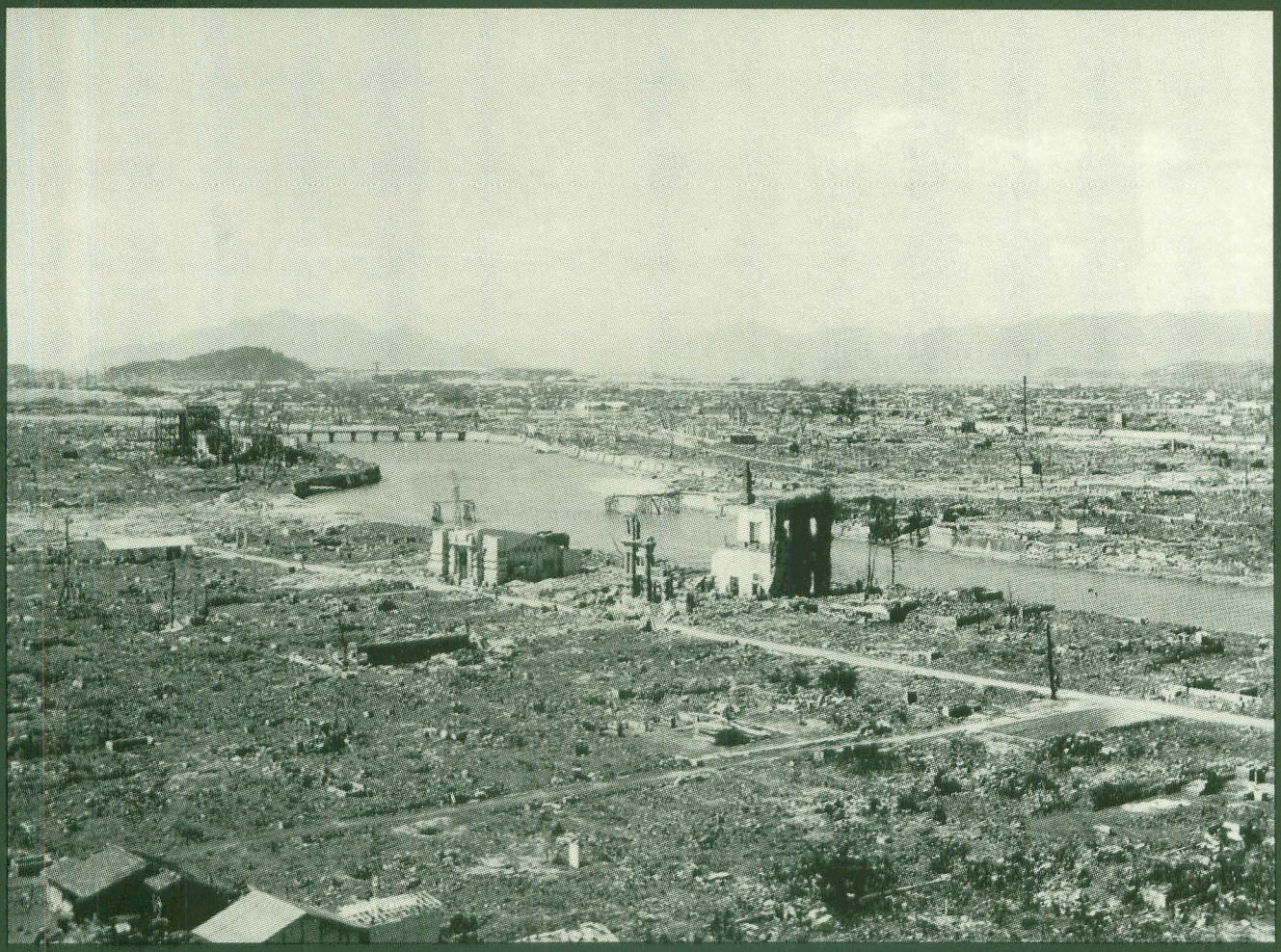

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Clinton's Distortion of History

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Daniel W. Michaels

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On the cover:
Hiroshima in the wake of the atomic bombing of August 6, 1945.

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The Danger of Historical Lies

President Clinton's Distortion of History

On January 20, 1997, Bill Clinton began his second term as President with a swearing-in ceremony at the White House followed by an inaugural address. During the first few minutes of this speech, Clinton briefly surveyed the history of the past ten decades:

> What a century it has been. America became the world's mightiest industrial power; saved the world from tyranny in two world wars and a long Cold War; and time and again, reached across the globe to millions who longed for the blessings of liberty.

Not only do these proud, even boastful words contain historical lies, they manifest an arrogance that lays the groundwork for future calamity. In truth, in neither the first nor the second world wars did the United States "save the world from tyranny."

World War I

In April 1917, President Woodrow Wilson called for America's entry into World War I by proclaiming that "the world must be made safe for democracy." On another occasion, he declared that US participation in the conflict would make it a "war to end war." To secure support for this crusade, newspapers and political leaders, and an official US government propaganda agency, portrayed Germany as a power-mad tyranny that threatened the liberty of the world.

However, within just a few years after the November 1918 armistice that ended the fighting, this wartime propaganda image was widely recognized as absurd. Today no serious historian regards Wilhelmine Germany as a "tyranny," or believes that it posed any kind of threat to the United States, much less "the world."

Ironically, America's principal allies in World War I — Britain and France — were at the time the world's greatest imperial powers. (A sore point for many Americans of Irish background was Britain's control of Ireland.) Many in the United States regarded Britain, not Germany, as the foremost threat to world liberty, recalling that Americans had waged a bitter, drawn-out war for independence from British rule (1775–1783), and that during a second war with the same country (1812–1814) British troops had sacked and burned down the US capital.

World War II

President Clinton's distortion of history is even more glaring with regard to the Second World War. America's two most important military allies in that conflict were the foremost imperialist power (Britain) and the cruelest tyranny (Soviet Russia).

During both world wars, Britain ruled a vast global empire, subjugating millions against their will in what are now India, Pakistan, South Africa, Palestine/Israel, Egypt and Malaysia, to name but a few. America's other great wartime ally, Stalinist Russia, was, by any objective measure, a vastly more cruel despotism than Hitler's Germany.

If the US had not intervened in World War II, Germany and its allies might have succeeded in vanquishing Soviet Communism. A victory of the Axis powers also would have meant no Communist subjugation of eastern Europe and China, no protracted East-West "Cold War," and no "hot wars" in Korea and Vietnam.

In fact, and contrary to Clinton's version of history, during the Second War the United States helped substantially to *preserve* the world's most terrible tyranny. In cooperation with the Soviet Union, the United States helped to *oppress* "millions who longed for the blessings of liberty."

Today's political and intellectual leaders seem eager to whitewash or forget the Soviet role in the World War II, or America's cordial wartime alliance with Soviet Russia and its leader. To solidify the Allied coalition — formally known as the "United Nations" — President Franklin Roosevelt, British Prime Minister Winston Churchill, and Soviet premier Joseph Stalin met together in person on two occasions: in November 1943 at Teheran, Iran, and in February 1945 in Yalta, Crimea.

In a joint declaration issued at the conclusion of the Teheran meeting, the three leaders expressed "our determination that our nations shall work together in war and in the peace that will follow." The "Big Three" continued:

> We recognize fully the supreme responsibility resting upon us and all the United Nations to make a peace which will command the good will of the overwhelming mass of the peoples of the world and banish the scourge and terror of war for many generations.
>
> We shall seek the cooperation and active participation of all nations, large and small, whose peoples in heart and mind are dedicated, as are our own peoples, to the elimination of tyranny and slavery, oppression and intolerance. We will welcome them, as they may choose to come, into a world family of democratic nations.
>
> ...Emerging from these cordial conferences we look with confidence to the day when all the peoples of the word may live free, untouched by tyranny, according to their varying desires and their own consciences.

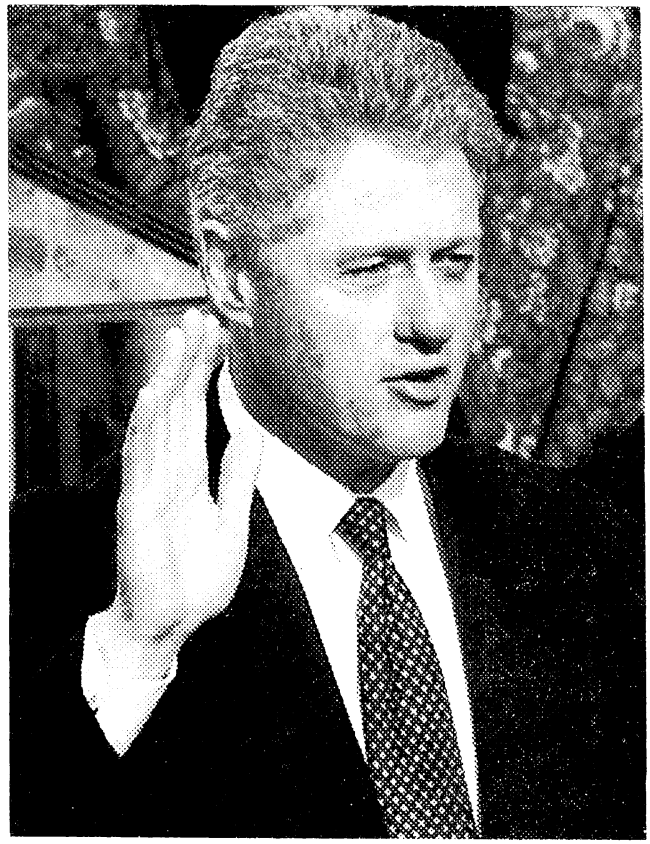
To emphasize the trusting nature of their alliance, Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin concluded their joint statement with the words: "We came here with hope and determination. We leave here, friends in fact, in spirit and in purpose."

The wartime leaders of the United States, Britain and Soviet Russia accomplished precisely what they accused the Axis leaders of Germany, Italy and Japan of conspiring to achieve: world domination. At the Teheran, Yalta and Potsdam conferences, and in crass violation of their own loftily proclaimed principles, the US, British and Soviet leaders disposed of millions of people with no regard for their wishes (most tragically, perhaps, in the case of Poland). To insure the rule of the victorious Allied powers after the war, the "Big Three" established the United Nations organization to function as a permanent global police force.

Lessons

Many Americans recall their country's role in the Vietnam war, and other overseas military adventures since 1945, with embarrassment and even shame. But most Americans — whether they call themselves conservative or liberal — like to regard World War II as "the good war," a morally unambiguous conflict between Good and Evil. So successfully have politicians and intellectual leaders, together with the mass media, promoted this childish, self-righteous view of history, that President Clinton could be confident that it would be accepted without objection.

The President's distortion of history is all the more remarkable considering that in this same inaugural speech he proclaimed the dawning of an "information age" in which "education will be every citizen's most prized possession."



In his second inaugural address, President Clinton declared that the United States had "saved the world from tyranny in two world wars."

How a nation views the past is not a trivial or merely academic exercise. Our perspective on history profoundly shapes our actions in the present, often with grave consequences for the future. Drawing conclusions from our understanding of the past, we make or support policies that greatly impact the lives of millions.

During the late 1960s and early 1970s, for example, political leaders, journalists and scholars often rationalized and justified America's ill-fated role in the Vietnam war on the basis of a badly distorted understanding of Third Reich Germany, drawing faulty historical parallels between Ho Chi Minh and Hitler, with erroneous references to the September 1938 Munich Conference.

The hubris of Clinton's portrayal of history is not merely an affront against historical truth, it is dangerous because it sanctions potentially even more calamitous military adventures in the future. After all, if the United States was as righteous and as successful as the President says it was in "saving the world" in two world wars, why would anyone oppose similar world-saving crusades in the future?

— M.W.

Was Hiroshima Necessary?

Why the Atomic Bombings Could Have Been Avoided

MARK WEBER

On August 6, 1945, the world dramatically entered the atomic age: without either warning or precedent, an American plane dropped a single nuclear bomb on the Japanese city of Hiroshima. The explosion utterly destroyed more than four square miles of the city center. About about 90,000 people were killed immediately; another 40,000 were injured, many of whom died in protracted agony from radiation sickness. Three days later, a second atomic strike on the city of Nagasaki killed some 37,000 people and injured another 43,000. Together the two bombs eventually killed an estimated 200,000 Japanese civilians.

Between the two bombings, Soviet Russia joined the United States in war against Japan. Under strong US prodding, Stalin broke his regime's 1941 non-aggression treaty with Tokyo. On the same day that Nagasaki was destroyed, Soviet troops began pouring into Manchuria, overwhelming Japanese forces there. Although Soviet participation did little or nothing to change the military outcome of the war, Moscow benefitted enormously from joining the conflict.

In a broadcast from Tokyo the next day, August 10, the Japanese government announced its readiness to accept the joint American-British "unconditional surrender" declaration of Potsdam, "with the understanding that the said declaration does not compromise any demand which prejudices the prerogatives of His Majesty as a Sovereign Ruler."

A day later came the American reply, which included these words: "From the moment of surrender the authority of the Emperor and the Japanese Government to rule the State shall be subject to the Supreme Commander of the Allied Powers." Finally, on August 14, the Japanese formally accepted the provisions of the Potsdam declaration, and a "cease fire" was announced. On September 2, Japanese envoys signed the instrument of surrender aboard the US battleship *Missouri* in Tokyo Bay.

A Beaten Country

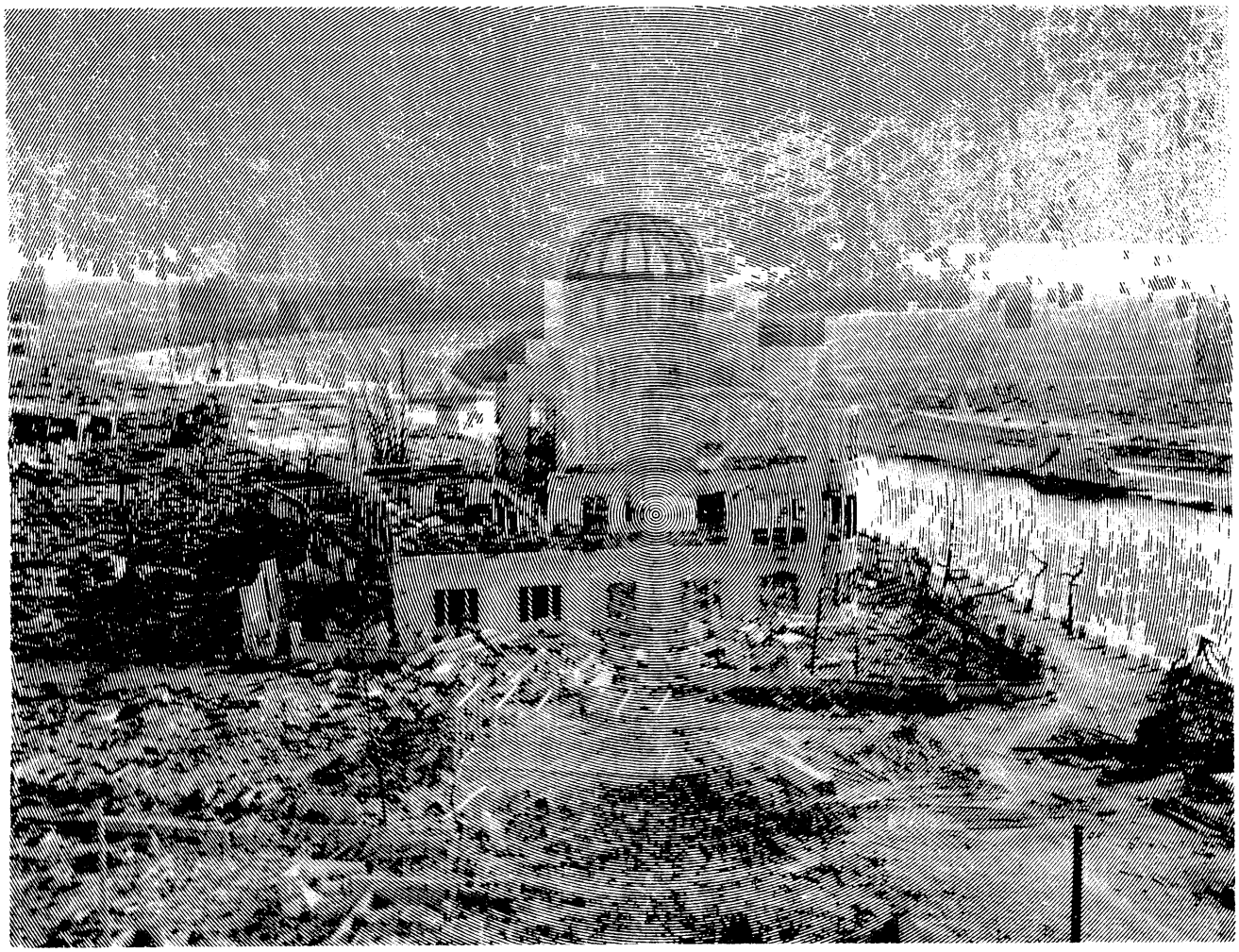
Apart from the moral questions involved, were the atomic bombings *militarily* necessary? By any rational yardstick, they were not. Japan already had been defeated militarily by June 1945. Almost nothing was left of the once mighty Imperial Navy, and Japan's air force had been all but totally destroyed. Against only token opposition, American war planes ranged at will over the country, and US bombers rained down devastation on her cities, steadily reducing them to rubble.

What was left of Japan's factories and workshops struggled fitfully to turn out weapons and other goods from inadequate raw materials. (Oil supplies had not been available since April.) By July about a quarter of all the houses in Japan had been destroyed, and her transportation system was near collapse. Food had become so scarce that most Japanese were subsisting on a sub-starvation diet.

On the night of March 9–10, 1945, a wave of 300 American bombers struck Tokyo, killing 100,000 people. Dropping nearly 1,700 tons of bombs, the war planes ravaged much of the capital city, completely burning out 16 square miles and destroying a quarter of a million structures. A million residents were left homeless.

On May 23, eleven weeks later, came the greatest air raid of the Pacific War, when 520 giant B-29 "Superfortress" bombers unleashed 4,500 tons of incendiary bombs on the heart of the already battered Japanese capital. Generating gale-force winds, the exploding incendiaries obliterated Tokyo's commercial center and railway yards, and consumed the Ginza entertainment district. Two days later, on May 25, a second strike of 502 "Superfortress" planes roared low over Tokyo, raining down some 4,000 tons of explosives. Together these two B-29 raids destroyed 56 square miles of the Japanese capital.

Even before the Hiroshima attack, American air force General Curtis LeMay boasted that American bombers were "driving them [Japanese] back to the stone age." Henry H. ("Hap") Arnold, commanding General of the Army air forces, declared in his 1949 memoirs: "It always appeared to us, atomic bomb or no atomic bomb, the Japanese were already on the verge of collapse." This was confirmed by former Japanese prime minister Fumimaro Konoye, who said: "Fundamentally, the thing that brought about the determination to make peace was the prolonged bombing by the B-29s."



Hiroshima in the wake of the atomic bombing of August 6, 1945. Located directly below the epicenter of the blast are the ruins of Sei hospital. The single bomb dropped on the city used Uranium 235, producing explosive force equal to 13 kilotons of TNT. Completely destroying more than four square miles of the city center, the blast immediately killed about 90,000 people. Another 40,000 were injured, of whom many died later of radiation sickness.

Japan Seeks Peace

Months before the end of the war, Japan's leaders recognized that defeat was inevitable. In April 1945 a new government headed by Kantaro Suzuki took office with the mission of ending the war. When Germany capitulated in early May, the Japanese understood that the British and Americans would now direct the full fury of their awesome military power exclusively against them.

American officials, having long since broken Japan's secret codes, knew from intercepted messages that the country's leaders were seeking to end the war on terms as favorable as possible. Details of these efforts were known from decoded secret communications between the Foreign Ministry in Tokyo and Japanese diplomats abroad.

In his 1965 study, *Atomic Diplomacy: Hiroshima and Potsdam* (pp. 107, 108), historian Gar Alperovitz writes:

> Although Japanese peace feelers had been sent out as early as September 1944 (and [China's] Chiang Kai-shek had been approached regarding surrender possibilities in December 1944), the real effort to end the war began in the spring of 1945. This effort stressed the role of the Soviet Union ...
>
> In mid-April [1945] the [US] Joint Intelligence Committee reported that Japanese leaders were looking for a way to modify the surrender terms to end the war. The State Department was convinced the Emperor was actively seeking a way to stop the fighting.

A cloud of smoke arises from the enormous explosion of the bombing of Nagasaki, August 9, 1945. Some 37,000 people were killed, and another 43,000 were injured, in the attack. Coming three days after the atomic destruction of Hiroshima, this was the second and last time the new atomic weapon was used.

A Secret Memorandum

It was only after the war that the American public learned about Japan's efforts to bring the conflict to an end. *Chicago Tribune* reporter Walter Trohan, for example, was obliged by wartime censorship to withhold for seven months one of the most important stories of the war.

In an article that finally appeared August 19, 1945, on the front pages of the *Chicago Tribune* and the Washington *Times-Herald*, Trohan revealed that on January 20, 1945, two days prior to his departure for the Yalta meeting with Stalin and Churchill, President Roosevelt received a 40-page memorandum from General Douglas MacArthur outlining five separate surrender overtures from high-level Japanese officials. (The complete text of Trohan's article is in the Winter 1985–86 *Journal*, pp. 508–512.)

This memo showed that the Japanese were offering surrender terms virtually identical to the ones ultimately accepted by the Americans at the formal surrender ceremony on September 2 — that is, complete surrender of everything but the person of the Emperor. Specifically, the terms of these peace overtures included:

- Complete surrender of all Japanese forces and arms, at home, on island possessions, and in occupied countries.
- Occupation of Japan and its possessions by Allied troops under American direction.
- Japanese relinquishment of all territory seized during the war, as well as Manchuria, Korea and Taiwan.
- Regulation of Japanese industry to halt production of any weapons and other tools of war.
- Release of all prisoners of war and internees.
- Surrender of designated war criminals.

Is this memorandum authentic? It was supposedly leaked to Trohan by Admiral William D. Leahy, presidential Chief of Staff. (See: M. Rothbard in A. Goddard, ed., *Harry Elmer Barnes: Learned Crusader* [1968], pp. 327f.) Historian Harry Elmer Barnes has related (in "Hiroshima: Assault on a Beaten Foe," *National Review*, May 10, 1958):

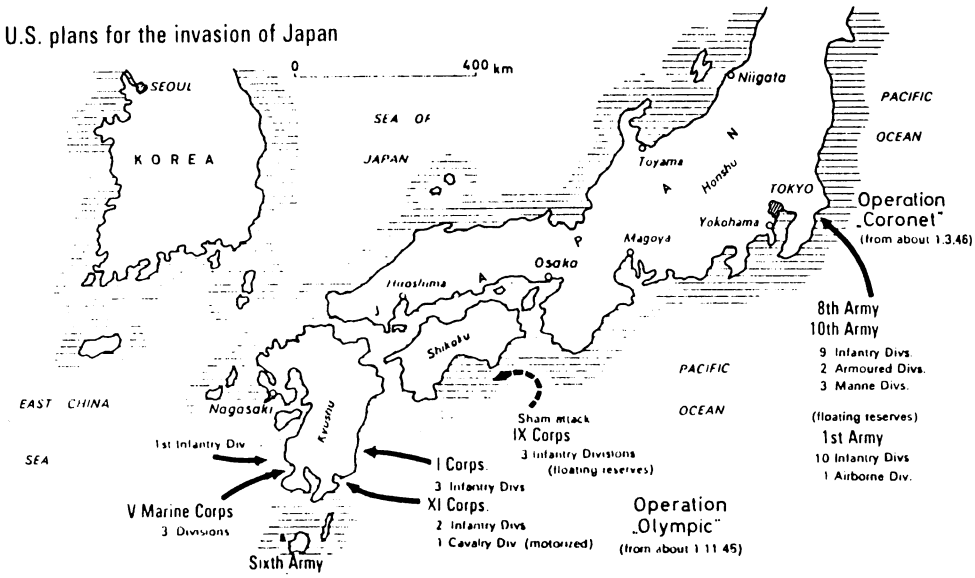
> The authenticity of the Trohan article was never challenged by the White House or the State Department, and for very good reason. After General MacArthur returned from Korea in 1951, his neighbor in the Waldorf Towers, former President Herbert Hoover, took the Trohan article to General MacArthur and the latter confirmed its accuracy in every detail and without qualification.

Peace Overtures

In April and May 1945, Japan made three attempts through neutral Sweden and Portugal to bring the war to a peaceful end. On April 7, acting Foreign Minister Mamoru Shigemitsu met with Swedish ambassador Widon Bagge in Tokyo, asking him "to ascertain what peace terms the United States and Britain had in mind." But he emphasized that unconditional surrender was unacceptable, and that "the Emperor must not be touched." Bagge relayed the message to the United States, but Secretary of State Stettinius told the US Ambassador in Sweden to "show no interest or take any initiative in pursuit of the matter." Similar Japanese peace signals through Portugal, on May 7, and again through Sweden, on the 10th, proved similarly fruitless.

By mid-June, six members of Japan's Supreme War Council had secretly charged Foreign Minister Shigenori Togo with the task of approaching Soviet Russia's leaders "with a view to terminating the war if possible by September." On June 22 the Emperor called a meeting of the Supreme War Council, which

included the Prime Minister, the Foreign Minister, and the leading military figures. "We have heard enough of this determination of yours to fight to the last soldiers," said Emperor Hirohito. "We wish that you, leaders of Japan, will strive now to study the ways and the means to conclude the war. In doing so, try not to be bound by the decisions you have made in the past."



"Operation Downfall," the American plan for the invasion of Japan proper, called for a two-stage assault. The invasion of the southernmost home island of Kyushu, code-named "Operation Olympic," was set for November 1, 1945. This was to be followed by "Operation Coronet," an invasion of the main Japanese home island of Honshu, scheduled for March 1946.

By early July the US had intercepted messages from Togo to the Japanese ambassador in Moscow, Naotake Sato, showing that the Emperor himself was taking a personal hand in the peace effort, and had directed that the Soviet Union be asked to help end the war. US officials also knew that the key obstacle to ending the war was American insistence on "unconditional surrender," a demand that precluded any negotiations. The Japanese were willing to accept nearly everything, except turning over their semi-divine Emperor. Heir of a 2,600-year-old dynasty, Hirohito was regarded by his people as a "living god" who personified the nation. (Until the August 15 radio broadcast of his surrender announcement, the Japanese people had never heard his voice.) Japanese particularly feared that the Americans would humiliate the Emperor, and even execute him as a war criminal.

On July 12, Hirohito summoned Fumimaro Konoye, who had served as prime minister in 1940–41. Explaining that "it will be necessary to terminate the war without delay," the Emperor said that he wished Konoye to secure peace with the Americans and British through the Soviets. As Prince Konoye later recalled, the Emperor instructed him "to secure peace at any price, notwithstanding its severity."

The next day, July 13, Foreign Minister Shigenori Togo wired ambassador Naotake Sato in Moscow: "See [Soviet foreign minister] Molotov before his departure for Potsdam... Convey His Majesty's strong desire to secure a termination of the war... Unconditional surrender is the only obstacle to peace ..."

On July 17, another intercepted Japanese message revealed that although Japan's leaders felt that the unconditional surrender formula involved an unacceptable dishonor, they were convinced that "the demands of the times" made Soviet mediation to terminate the war absolutely essential. Further diplomatic messages indicated that the only condition asked by the Japanese was preservation of "our form of government." The only "difficult point," a July 25 message disclosed, "is the...formality of unconditional surrender."

Summarizing the messages between Togo and Sato, US naval intelligence said that Japan's leaders, "though still balking at the term unconditional surrender," recognized that the war was lost, and had reached the point where they have "no objection to the restoration of peace on the basis of the [1941] Atlantic Charter." These messages, said Assistant Secretary of the Navy Lewis Strauss, "indeed stipulated only that the integrity of the Japanese Royal Family be preserved."

Navy Secretary James Forrestal termed the intercepted messages "real evidence of a Japanese desire to get out of the war." "With the interception of these messages," notes historian Alperovitz (p. 177), "there could no longer be any real doubt as to the Japanese intentions; the maneuvers were overt and explicit and, most of all, official acts. Koichi Kido, Japan's Lord Privy Seal and a close advisor to the Emperor, later affirmed: "Our decision to seek a way out of this war, was made in early June before any atomic bomb had been dropped and Russia had not entered the war. It was already our decision."

In spite of this, on July 26 the leaders of the

The Allied "Big Three" meet on July 17, 1945, at Potsdam, near Berlin, in defeated Germany. President Truman stands between Soviet premier Stalin and British prime minister Churchill. It was at this conference that Japan was given the grim ultimatum: proclaim "unconditional surrender" or face "prompt and utter destruction."

United States and Britain issued the Potsdam declaration, which included this grim ultimatum: "We call upon the government of Japan to proclaim now the unconditional surrender of all Japanese armed forces and to provide proper and adequate assurance of good faith in such action. The alternative for Japan is prompt and utter destruction."

Commenting on this draconian either-or proclamation, British historian J.F.C. Fuller wrote: "Not a word was said about the Emperor, because it would be unacceptable to the propaganda-fed American masses." (*A Military History of the Western World* [1987], p. 675.)

America's leaders understood Japan's desperate position: the Japanese were willing to end the war on any terms, as long as the Emperor was not molested. If the US leadership had not insisted on *unconditional* surrender — that is, if they had made clear a willingness to permit the Emperor to remain in place — the Japanese very likely would have surrendered immediately, thus saving many thousands of lives.

The sad irony is that, as it actually turned out, the American leaders decided anyway to retain the Emperor as a symbol of authority and continuity. They realized, correctly, that Hirohito was useful as a figurehead prop for their own occupation authority in postwar Japan.

Justifications

President Truman steadfastly defended his use of the atomic bomb, claiming that it "saved millions of lives" by bringing the war to a quick end. Justifying his decision, he went so far as to declare: "The world will note that the first atomic bomb was dropped on Hiroshima, a military base. That was because we wished in this first attack to avoid, insofar as possible, the killing of civilians."

This was a preposterous statement. In fact, almost all of the victims were civilians, and the United States Strategic Bombing Survey (issued in 1946) stated in its official report: "Hiroshima and Nagasaki were chosen as targets because of their concentration of activities and population."

If the atomic bomb was dropped to impress the Japanese leaders with the immense destructive power of a new weapon, this could have been accomplished by deploying it on an isolated military base. It was not necessary to destroy a large city. And whatever the justification for the Hiroshima blast, it is much more difficult to defend the second bombing of Nagasaki.

All the same, most Americans accepted, and continue to accept, the official justifications for the bombings. Accustomed to crude propagandistic portrayals of the "Japs" as virtually subhuman beasts, most Americans in 1945 heartily welcomed any new weapon that would wipe out more of the detested Asians, and help avenge the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor. For the young Americans who were

Japan is portrayed as a monstrous reptile, labeled "The Yellow Peril," in this *Chicago Tribune* cartoon, published two weeks after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor.

fighting the Japanese in bitter combat, the attitude was "Thank God for the atom bomb." Almost to a man, they were grateful for a weapon whose deployment seemed to end the war and thus allow them to return home.

After the July 1943 firestorm destruction of Hamburg, the mid-February 1945 holocaust of Dresden, and the fire-bombings of Tokyo and other Japanese cities, America's leaders — as US Army General Leslie Groves later commented — "were generally inured to the mass killing of civilians." For President Harry Truman, the killing of tens of thousands of Japanese civilians was simply not a consideration in his decision to use the atom bomb.

Critical Voices

Amid the general clamor of enthusiasm, there were some who had grave misgivings. "We are the inheritors to the mantle of Genghis Khan," wrote *New York Times* editorial writer Hanson Baldwin, "and of all those in history who have justified the use of utter ruthlessness in war." Norman Thomas called Nagasaki "the greatest single atrocity of a very cruel war." Joseph P. Kennedy, father of the President, was similarly appalled.

"Hiroshima and Nagasaki were chosen as targets because of their concentration of activities and population."
— US Strategic Bombing Survey

A leading voice of American Protestantism, *Christian Century*, strongly condemned the bombings. An editorial entitled "America's Atomic Atrocity" in the issue of August 29, 1945, told readers:

> The atomic bomb was used at a time when Japan's navy was sunk, her air force virtually destroyed, her homeland surrounded, her supplies cut off, and our forces poised for the final stroke... Our leaders seem not to have weighed the moral considerations involved. No sooner was the bomb ready than it was rushed to the front and dropped on two helpless cities... The atomic bomb can fairly be said to have struck Christianity itself... The churches of America must dissociate themselves and their faith from this inhuman and reckless act of the American Government.

A leading American Catholic voice, *Commonweal*, took a similar view. Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the magazine editorialized, "are names for American guilt and shame."

General Dwight Eisenhower thought that using the atomic bomb against Japan was "completely unnecessary."

Pope Pius XII likewise condemned the bombings, expressing a view in keeping with the traditional Roman Catholic position that "every act of war directed to the indiscriminate destruction of whole cities or vast areas with their inhabitants is a crime against God and man." The Vatican newspaper *Osservatore Romano* commented in its August 7, 1945, issue: "This war provides a catastrophic conclusion. Incredibly this destructive weapon remains as a temptation for posterity, which, we know by bitter experience, learns so little from history."

Authoritative Voices of Dissent

American leaders who were in a position to know the facts did not believe, either at the time or later, that the atomic bombings were needed to end the war.

When he was informed in mid-July 1945 by Sec-

Leo Szilard, a key figure in early nuclear weapons development, argued that using the atom bomb against Japan was both militarily unnecessary and immoral.

retary of War Henry L. Stimson of the decision to use the atomic bomb, General Dwight Eisenhower was deeply troubled. He disclosed his strong reservations about using the new weapon in his 1963 memoir, *The White House Years: Mandate for Change, 1953–1956* (pp. 312–313):

> During his [Stimson's] recitation of the relevant facts, I had been conscious of a feeling of depression and so I voiced to him my grave misgivings, first on the basis of my belief that Japan was already defeated and that dropping the bomb was completely unnecessary, and secondly because I thought that our country should avoid shocking world opinion by the use of a weapon whose employment was, I thought, no longer mandatory as a measure to save American lives. It was my belief that Japan was, at that very moment, seeking some way to surrender with a minimum loss of "face."

"The Japanese were ready to surrender and it wasn't necessary to hit them with that awful thing ... I hated to see our country be the first to use such a weapon," Eisenhower said in 1963.

Shortly after "V-J Day," the end of the Pacific war, Brig. General Bonnie Fellers summed up in a memo for General MacArthur: "Neither the atomic bombing nor the entry of the Soviet Union into the war forced Japan's unconditional surrender. She was defeated before either these events took place."

Similarly, Admiral Leahy, Chief of Staff to presidents Roosevelt and Truman, later commented:

> It is my opinion that the use of the barbarous weapon at Hiroshima and Nagasaki was of no material assistance in our war against Japan... The Japanese were already defeated and ready to surrender because of the effective sea blockade and the successful bombing with conventional weapons... My own feeling was that in being the first to use it, we had adopted an ethical standard common to the barbarians of the Dark Ages. I was not taught to make war in that fashion, and wars cannot be won by destroying women and children.

If the United States had been willing to wait, said Admiral Ernest King, US Chief of Naval Operations, "the effective naval blockade would, in the course of time, have starved the Japanese into submission through lack of oil, rice, medicines, and other essential materials."

"If the Germans had dropped atomic bombs on cities instead of us, we would have defined the dropping of atomic bombs on cities as a war crime, and we would have sentenced the Germans who were guilty of this crime to death at Nuremberg and hanged them."
— Leo Szilard, atomic bomb scientist

Leo Szilard, a Hungarian-born scientist who played a major role in the development of the atomic bomb, argued against its use. "Japan was essentially defeated," he said, and "it would be wrong to attack its cities with atomic bombs as if atomic bombs were simply another military weapon." In a 1960 magazine article, Szilard wrote: "If the Germans had dropped atomic bombs on cities instead of us, we would have defined the dropping of atomic bombs on cities as a war crime, and we would have sentenced the Germans who were guilty of this crime to death at Nuremberg and hanged them."

US Strategic Bombing Survey Verdict

After studying this matter in great detail, the United States Strategic Bombing Survey rejected the notion that Japan gave up because of the atomic bombings. In its authoritative 1946 report, the Survey concluded:

> The Hiroshima and Nagasaki bombs did not defeat Japan, nor by the testimony of the enemy leaders who ended the war did they persuade Japan to accept unconditional surrender. The Emperor, the Lord Privy Seal, the Prime Minister, the Foreign Minister, and the Navy Minister had decided as early as May of 1945 that the war should be ended even if it meant

acceptance of defeat on allied terms ...

The mission of the Suzuki government, appointed 7 April 1945, was to make peace. An appearance of negotiating for terms less onerous than unconditional surrender was maintained in order to contain the military and bureaucratic elements still determined on a final Bushido defense, and perhaps even more importantly to obtain freedom to create peace with a minimum of personal danger and internal obstruction. It seems clear, however, that in extremis the peacemakers would have peace, and peace on any terms. This was the gist of advice given to Hirohito by the Jushin in February, the declared conclusion of Kido in April, the underlying reason for Koiso's fall in April, the specific injunction of the Emperor to Suzuki on becoming premier which was known to all members of his cabinet ...

Negotiations for Russia to intercede began the forepart of May 1945 in both Tokyo and Moscow. Konoye, the intended emissary to the Soviets, stated to the Survey that while ostensibly he was to negotiate, he received direct and secret instructions from the Emperor to secure peace at any price, notwithstanding its severity ...

It seems clear...that air supremacy and its later exploitation over Japan proper was the major factor which determined the timing of Japan's surrender and obviated any need for invasion.

Based on a detailed investigation of all the facts and supported by the testimony of the surviving Japanese leaders involved, it is the Survey's opinion that certainly prior to 31 December 1945 and in all probability prior to 1 November 1945 [the date of the planned American invasion], Japan would have surrendered even if the atomic bombs had not been dropped, even if Russia had not entered the war, and even if no invasion had been planned or contemplated.

Historians' Views

In a 1986 study, historian and journalist Edwin P. Hoyt nailed the "great myth, perpetuated by well-meaning people throughout the world," that "the atomic bomb caused the surrender of Japan." In *Japan's War: The Great Pacific Conflict* (p. 420), he explained:

> The fact is that as far as the Japanese militarists were concerned, the atomic bomb was just another weapon. The two atomic bombs at Hiroshima and Nagasaki were icing on the cake, and did not do as much damage as the firebombings of Japanese cities. The B-29 firebombing campaign had brought the destruction of 3,100,000 homes, leaving 15 million people homeless, and killing about a million of them. It was the ruthless firebombing, and Hirohito's realization that if necessary the Allies *would* completely destroy Japan and kill every Japanese to achieve "unconditional surrender" that persuaded him to the decision to end the war. The atomic bomb is indeed a fearsome weapon, but it was not the cause of Japan's surrender, even though the myth persists even to this day.

In a trenchant new book, *The Decision to Drop the Atomic Bomb* (Praeger, 1996), historian Dennis D. Wainstock concludes that the bombings were not only unnecessary, but were based on a vengeful policy that actually harmed American interests. He writes (pp. 124, 132):

> ... By April 1945, Japan's leaders realized that the war was lost. Their main stumbling block to surrender was the United States' insistence on unconditional surrender. They specifically needed to know whether the United States would allow Hirohito to remain on the throne. They feared that the United States would depose him, try him as a war criminal, or even execute him ...
>
> Unconditional surrender was a policy of revenge, and it hurt America's national self-interest. It prolonged the war in both Europe and East Asia, and it helped to expand Soviet power in those areas.

"The atomic bomb had nothing to do with the end of the war."
— General Curtis LeMay

General Douglas MacArthur, Commander of US Army forces in the Pacific, stated on numerous occasions before his death that the atomic bomb was completely unnecessary from a military point of view: "My staff was unanimous in believing that Japan was on the point of collapse and surrender."

General Curtis LeMay, who had pioneered precision bombing of Germany and Japan (and who later headed the Strategic Air Command and served as Air Force chief of staff), put it most succinctly: "The atomic bomb had nothing to do with the end of the war."

Five Million Deaths Foreseen

American Leaders Planned Poison Gas Attack Against Japan

A long-suppressed report written in June 1945 by the US Army's Chemical Warfare Service shows that American military leaders made plans for a massive preemptive poison gas attack to accompany an invasion of Japan. The 30-page document designated "gas attack zones" on detailed maps of Tokyo and other major Japanese cities. Army planners selected 50 urban and industrial targets in Japan, with 25 cities, including Tokyo, Osaka, Yokohama, Kobe and Kyoto, listed as "especially suitable for gas attacks."

In planning the invasion of Japan proper, America's military and political leaders expected the Japanese to fight with fanatic fervor in defense of their home islands. The overall US plan, code-named "Operation Downfall," called for a two-stage invasion. An assault on the southernmost Japanese home island of Kyushu, code-named "Operation Olympic," was set for November 1, 1945. This was to be followed by "Operation Coronet," scheduled for March 1946: an invasion of the main Japanese home island of Honshu, including an assault on Tokyo.

"Gas attacks of the size and intensity recommended on these 250 square miles of urban population," the US Army report declared, "might easily kill 5,000,000 people and injure that many more." In the first attack, which would be launched 15 days before the Kyushu landings, American bombers would drench much of Tokyo and other cities in an early morning attack with 54,000 tons of lethal phosgene gas. Tokyo would be the largest poison gas target, because an "attack of this size against an urban city of large population should be used to initiate gas warfare."

The report's three authors recommended that the US Joint Chiefs of Staff issue "a policy at once directing the use of toxic gas on both strategic and tactical targets in support of Operation Olympic." Planners called for the use of four kinds of gas, including phosgene (or carbonyl chloride), mustard gas, and hydrogen cyanide. The gas attack study was approved by the chief of the US Chemical Warfare Service, Major General William N. Porter. Only five copies were made of the top secret document, whose existence was first made public in July 1991.

After the horrific use of poison gas during the First World War, the major nations formally outlawed the use of this new weapon. This prohibition was included in the 1919 Treaty of Versailles, the 1922 Treaty of Washington, and in a 1925 protocol signed by more than 40 countries, including the United States. During the Second World War, both the United States and Germany produced and stockpiled lethal gas for possible use in the European conflict, but neither side — apparently fearful of retaliation — actually used the weapon.

Although the public policy in 1945 was that the United States would use gas only in retaliation for a Japanese first use, in private America's military leaders seriously considered striking first with poison gas. By the summer of 1945, American forces were already killing Japanese by the tens of thousands in indiscriminate fire-bombings. Given this, the step to killing by lethal gas was not a lengthy one.

On June 14, 1945, other documents show, Fleet Admiral Ernest King, a member of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, received a secret report on poison gas from Army Chief of Staff General George C. Marshall. The two men were key presidential advisers. President Truman met at the White House on June 18 with his principal military and civilian advisers to discuss the overall plan for the invasion of Japan. Apparently the gas attack plan was approved at that conference. Three days later, June 21, orders were given to step up production of several types of poison gas to provide stockpiles in the massive quantities urged in the study.

Two American historians, Thomas B. Allen and Norman Polmar, commented on the long-suppressed document in a 1995 article. The June 1945 report, they wrote, "raised the killing of enemy civilians to a level far beyond anything seen in World War II. No [other] known military document from World War II recommends such wholesale killing of civilians." (T. B. Allen and N. Polmar, "Poisonous invasion prelude," Pittsburgh *Post-Gazette*, Aug. 4, 1995 [*New York Times* special features].)

No American official has ever been demoted or even criticized for approving this murderous plan, which has received scant public attention. If Germany had used poison gas during the Second World War, surely the victorious Allies would have severely punished the responsible officials. Similarly, if German military leaders had approved a plan to gas London comparable to the 1945 American one to drench Tokyo in phosgene, doubtless it would have been cited endlessly as a striking example of Nazi evil, and those responsible for drafting it would have been vilified.

— *M.W.*

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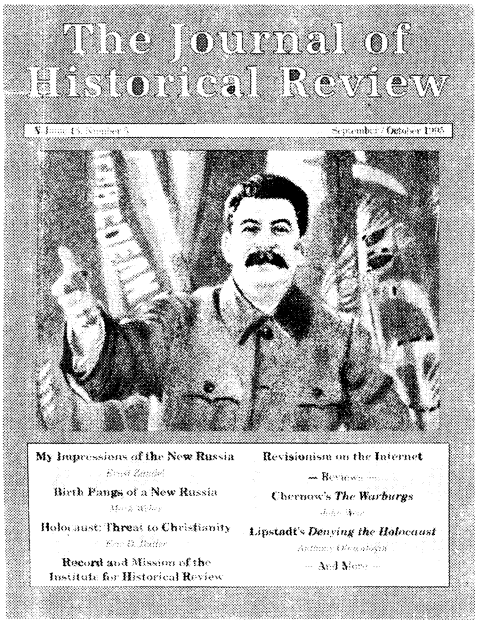
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The Ethics of War: Hiroshima and Nagasaki After 50 Years

GREGORY P. PAVLIK

The first use of an atomic bomb in warfare took place on August 6, 1945. The weapon was dropped on the Japanese city of Hiroshima by the US bomber *Enola Gay*, instantaneously destroying four square miles in the middle of the population center. The blast killed 66,000 men, women, and children, and injured an additional 69,000. A full 67 percent of Hiroshima's buildings, transportation systems, and urban structures were destroyed.

The next (and only other) atomic bomb to be dropped in warfare was detonated over the Japanese city of Nagasaki three days later. That blast killed 39,000 civilians and injured another 25,000; 40 percent of the city was destroyed or unrepairable. The Japanese government surrendered to the US government on August 10, 1945.

Since the last "good war," a debate has ensued over the moral legitimacy of the use of nuclear weapons, particularly against civilians. The critics hold that it is a crime to incinerate civilians *en masse*; defenders commonly claim that the bombing was necessary to bring the war to a close, thereby saving countless American lives. Most of those who make this claim do so in earnest. The problem is that this defense is both historically false, and taken to its logical conclusion, extremely dangerous.

But a discussion of the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki cannot proceed without an overview of the imperialist motives for Japanese military aggression, which reflected the age-old drive for power through military intimidation and conquest. The Japanese desired a series of conquests, to constitute the Greater East Asian Co-Prosperity sphere. This involved, most importantly, penetration into Korea, Manchuria, China, French Indochina, Malaya, and Burma.

What was clearly not their goal was a prolonged conflict with the United States or any of the other Allied Powers. After establishing their Asian imperium and a defensive perimeter, the Japanese expected to reach a negotiated peace.

It should be clear that the attack on the American military base at Pearl Harbor was not a part of the long-term planning of the Japanese government. Indeed, conservatives and isolationists have long held the view that the Roosevelt administration provoked the Japanese into their aggressive stance as a back door to war in Europe.

Consider the facts leading up to the attack: Roosevelt had made a commitment to Churchill that the United States would enter into the Asian conflict if the British were attacked; the United States was shipping ammunition to both Russia and Great Britain; Roosevelt had placed an embargo on oil and metals against Japan; and in the most egregious example, had sent the "unofficial" *Flying* Tigers to attack the Japanese in China in 1941. All were violations of US neutrality and acts of belligerency.

Vocal critics on the Old Right — such as John T. Flynn and Harry Elmer Barnes — held that the Roosevelt administration was aware of the attack in advance, both from decoded transmissions and intelligence reports. The weight of history has ironed out the appearance of radicalism from the latter contention. Whatever the truth of the Peal Harbor affair, an extended war with the United States was not a desire of the Japanese.

Japanese Objectives

Apologists for the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki need to consider the overall thrust of the Japanese objectives. These objectives do not square with the notion that Japan was intractably set into a policy of mortal combat with the Americans. Not that the Japanese were not willing to fight — they did so for four bloody and grueling years. Yet the oft-repeated claim that the Japanese were willing to sacrifice every last individual before ending the war is nonsense.

In reality, the Japanese were willing to end hostilities with the United States as quickly as they began. Startlingly neglected is the January 1945 offer of the Japanese government to surrender. As the eminent English jurist Frederick J. P. Veale

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Gregory P. Pavlik wrote this essay as an editor for *The Freeman*, published monthly by the Foundation for Economic Education (30 S. Broadway, Irvington-on-Hudson, NY 10533). It is reprinted from the September 1995 issue. Pavlik is also editor of the 1995 work, *Forgotten Lessons: Selected Essays of John T. Flynn.*

pointed out in *Advance to Barbarism* [p. 352]:

> Belatedly it has been disclosed that seven months before it [the atomic bomb] was dropped, in January 1945, President Roosevelt received via General MacArthur's headquarters an offer by the Japanese Government to surrender on terms virtually identical to those accepted by the United States after the dropping of the bomb: In July 1945, as we know, Roosevelt's successor, President Truman, discussed with Stalin at Babelsberg [Potsdam] the Japanese offer to surrender.

Clearly, then, the bomb did not have to be dropped to save the lives of American soldiers. The war in the Pacific could have ended prior to the European conflict. One suspects that the conflagration's extension beyond the confines of necessity had more to do with the politics of war than military strategy. The fact that consultation with Stalin played a key role in the decision tends to implicate both what historian William L. Neumann pointed to as "the historic ambitions of Russia in Asia" and "the expansionist element in Stalinist Communism."

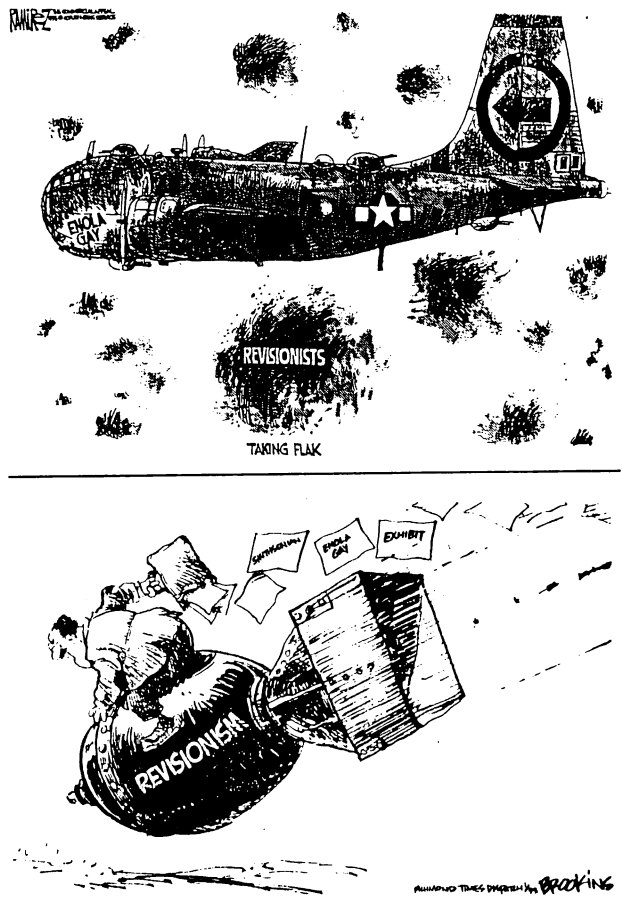
The Japanese offer to surrender came at a time when surrender made sense. Consider the strange apology for the bombing offered by the historian Robert R. Smith, the logic of which may escape even the most alert reader:

> Allied air, surface, and submarine operations had cut the home islands from all sources of raw materials. The effective and close blockade of the Allies established around the home islands would ultimately have made it impossible for the Japanese to supply their military and civilian components with even the bare essentials of life. An early surrender was inevitable, probably even without the impetus supplied by the atomic blasts. It was better for both the Allies and the Japanese the end came when it did.

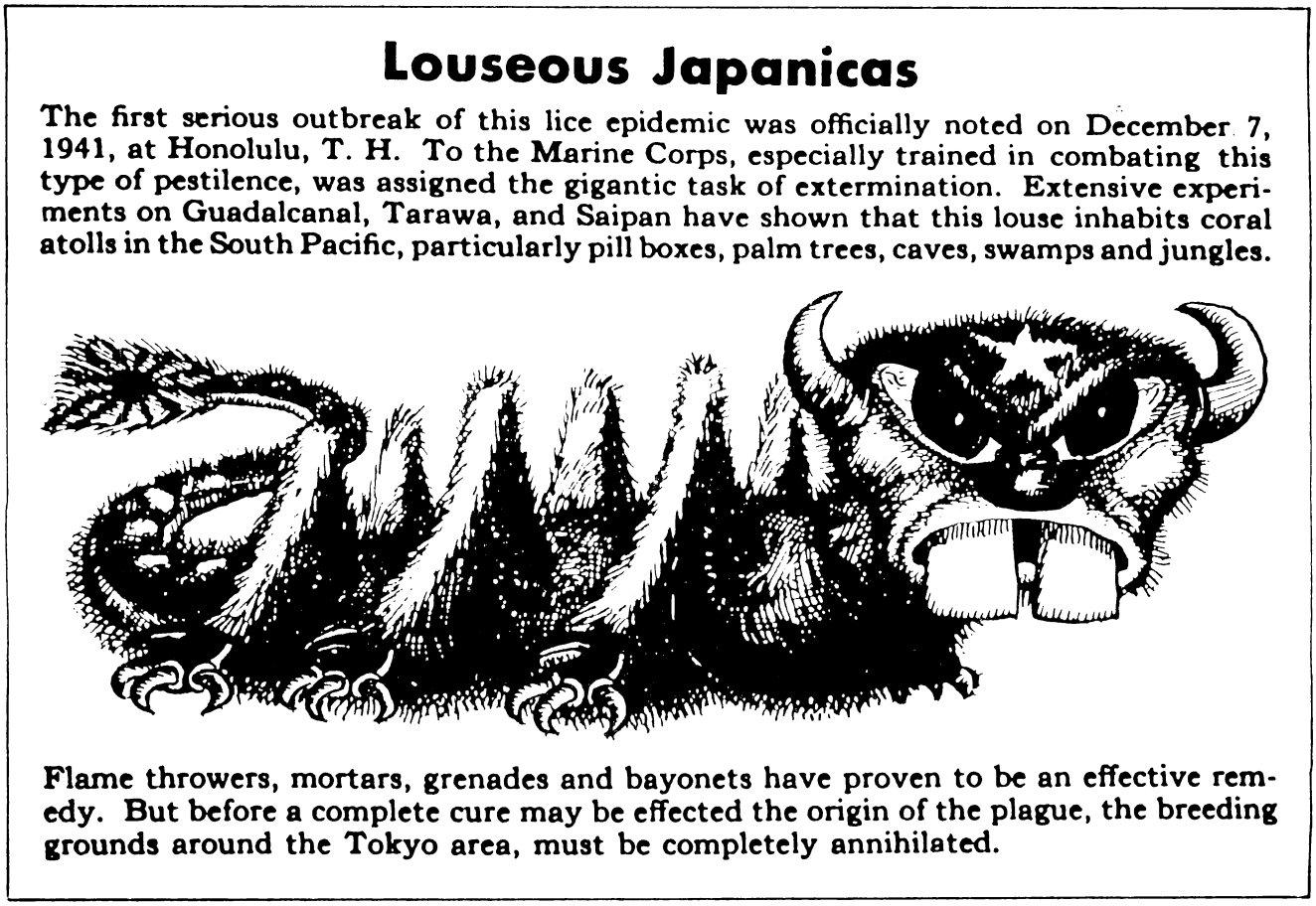
Even if the Japanese had showed no signs of surrender and had remained obstinate in belligerency, the notion that the most human carnage possible must be inflicted on the civilians of an enemy government to force a surrender and minimize the losses of one's own troops is perverse. Consider the consequences of adopting a policy of total war. Logically, if you expect an enemy to pursue this strategy, you will do everything in your power to do the same before the enemy has the opportunity to annihilate you.

It's a step beyond the Cold War policy appropriately referred to as Mutually Assured Destruction. These doctrines place their backers alongside such military strategists as Ghengis Khan, Attila the Hun, and the Assyrian king Tigleth Pileser who delighted in the erection of pyramids of human skulls. To adopt this justification for the bombing is to ask any putative future enemy to assume we mean to destroy him, and to alert him to the necessity of killing as many American civilians as is possible before we do the same to him.

Indeed, by this logic, the United States should have dropped nuclear weapons in the heart of Christendom to bring Germany to her knees as quickly as possible, a prospect that any civilized person must contemplate with horror. Yet, this was how many of the scientists working on the bomb, including Albert Einstein, hoped the American government would use it.



Editorial cartoons take aim at the "revisionism" of a Smithsonian Institution exhibit on the bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, which was cancelled in early 1995 after veterans' groups and others protested its critical portrayal of President Truman's use of the atomic weapon.


Louseous Japanicas
The first serious outbreak of this lice epidemic was officially noted on December 7, 1941, at Honolulu, T. H. To the Marine Corps, especially trained in combating this type of pestilence, was assigned the gigantic task of extermination. Extensive experiments on Guadalcanal, Tarawa, and Saipan have shown that this louse inhabits coral atolls in the South Pacific, particularly pill boxes, palm trees, caves, swamps and jungles.
Flame throwers, mortars, grenades and bayonets have proven to be an effective remedy. But before a complete cure may be effected the origin of the plague, the breeding grounds around the Tokyo area, must be completely annihilated.

Japanese are depicted as vermin, fit only for "extermination," in this item published in the US Marine Corps magazine *Leatherneck*, March 1945, the same month that the United States began low-level incendiary bombing of Japanese cities.

The Canons of Warfare

Many opponents of the use of the bomb point to the canons of civilized warfare in Europe, developed over 1,500 years. Again, Veale explains: "the fundamental principle of this code was that hostilities between civilized people must be limited to the armed forces engaged," and in his book he lists a splendid array of examples of European leaders holding to these principles, even at the price of victory.

In fact, the professional conduct of European soldiers was such that in 1814 Marshal Davout was reproached sternly and threatened with a "war crime trial" for his ugly treatment of the residents of Hamburg before his surrender — not by the Prussians, but by his own people. He was charged with having "rendered the name of Frenchman odious."

The crucial flaw in relying on the European military codes as an attack on the bombing of the Japanese is implicit in the explanation provided by Veale. By "civilized people," the European codes referred only to Europeans. That is, the rules and restrictions of civilized warfare applied only to so-called "secondary" wars, or intra-European wars, and not to "primary" wars that involved the clash of European and non-European powers. In the latter case, the limitations on aggression against civilians literally had no bearing on the conduct of the belligerents.

A number of cases that have a special bearing on our subject come to mind. The Japanese *city of* Kagoshima was destroyed by the British navy under Admiral Kuper in 1863 for the sole purpose of winning trade concessions. So the rules of conduct in war only extended so far. Nor was America shy about using military aggression against the Japanese. The United States had a long history of belligerent tactics against Japan, starting with the "gunboat diplomacy" of Commodore Perry in 1854. US ships were also involved in the destruction of the city of Shimonoseki in 1864, an operation essentially directed in the interests of British imperialism.

In 1908, President Theodore Roosevelt was not above sending the United States fleet to the very shores of Japan. This type of militaristic diplomacy

formed the basis of the foreign policy of Franklin Roosevelt, who was also a committed Sinophile. Much of the administration's early naval build-ups and movements in the Pacific, starting as early as 1934, were aimed at intimidation of the Japanese. Roosevelt's policy rested on Western and US precedent.

In fact, it seems plausible at first glance to argue that by the centuries-old standards of European civilized conduct in war, the bombing of Japan was an acceptable method of battle. (Incidentally, the use of

World War II Allied magazines, newspapers and motion pictures portrayed the Japanese as grotesque, barely human killers. Typical was this American wartime propaganda image, designed to foster hatred of the Japanese.

atomic weapons against Germany was not and could never be.) For obvious reasons, contemporary defenders of the bombing are loath to broach this defense, as it smacks of the twentieth-century heresy of racism. But there is also a caveat to this argument.

However much the doctrine of the sanctity of noncombatant life was limited in practice, there existed a long tradition in European ethics that held that the killing of noncombatants was morally offensive and wrong. Christianity, the faith of the

How Tough Are the Japanese?
They are not tougher than other soldiers, says a veteran observer, but brutality is part of their fighting equipment

This British portrayal of Japanese soldiers as ape-like monsters, originally from the London *Daily Mail*, was reprinted in a mid-1943 issue of the *New York Times Magazine*.

West, is a religion imbued with a limited universalism in content, derived from the belief that Christ died on the cross for all men. Hence, the moral teachings of the Christian faith regarding the sanctity of human life can reasonably be understood to have been intended to apply universally.

Saint Augustine, Huguccio, and Grotius

Saint Augustine held that taking the life of a noncombatant was murder. Even before Christianity had begun its penetration into the northern lands of Europe, fundamental teachings regarding the conduct of war were being developed. Nor did these doctrines change with the development of Catholic teaching throughout Europe and the emergence of Thomistic Scholasticism. As early as the twelfth century, Huguccio, a professor at Bologna, had revised the patristic teachings regarding natural law in his Summa of 1188. There he developed the notion that private property was a natural right, not subject to the interference of private persons or the state, under normal conditions.

This fundamentally libertarian teaching laid the groundwork for the ethical considerations of the rights of noncombatants in war. Indeed, the early

"ANOTHER PUZZLER FOR WORLD SCHOLARS"

This cartoon, similar to many others published in wartime US newspapers and magazines, depicts the Japanese as brutish, diminutive subhumans. Originally appearing in the *Detroit News*, August 1945, it was reprinted in the Sunday *New York Times*.

twentieth-century international agreements regarding the rules of war were an outgrowth of this doctrine, based largely on the natural law analysis of the Dutch Scholastic Hugo Grotius. In fact, the work of Grotius is foundational to understanding both the Hague and Geneva Conventions.

Grotius identified four fundamental precepts of natural law, from which he developed his theory of international law. They were: (1) no person or body of persons, including the state, may legitimately initiate violence against another person or body of persons; (2) no person or body of persons may seized the property of another; (3) both persons and bodies of persons are bound by contracts or treaties that they might enter into; (4) no person or body of persons may commit a crime.

These libertarian postulates were extremely influential. Through practice and judicial development, nuances and adaptations were made in the rules of conduct. However, they were derived from Christian teachings that were meant to apply universally.

Critics of the bombing have made a strong moral case against the action. This is why the defenders of the bombing use strongly moralistic terms themselves. One of the results is possibly the most bizarre and obviously wrong.

Most veterans and defenders of the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki claim that whatever the reasons for the bombing and its support, racism was not among them. This is simply not true. The US War Department and related agencies that specialized in producing hate propaganda and lies developed specifically racialist attacks on the Japanese.

Propaganda films, shown to theaters across the country, whipped Americans into war hysteria with films attacking the Japanese with their "grinning yellow faces." American movie audiences were encouraged to cheer as they watched images of the "upstart yellow dwarfs" meeting their timely ends. The government played on and encouraged prejudice and specifically racial animosity against the Japanese. To be fair, the Japanese held — and still hold — similar views of Americans, views not discouraged by their government.

The most revealing aspect of this latter point is not that racism was involved in drumming up the war spirit, but rather that the truth of the matter has been so thoroughly obscured.

Oddly enough, many apologists are conservatives, who should be the first to recognize that the essence of government is its monopoly on violence. This is a paramount consideration in their analysis of the role of the government in domestic affairs. Consistency demands that conservatives begin to apply their principles across the board — to foreign policy as well as domestic policy. The alternative is the road we now travel, and it leads to a total war and the total state.

Journal Subscription Notice

Financial, staffing and legal difficulties during the past two years have regrettably made it impossible to bring out *The Journal of Historical Review* on time. The last issue, dated March–April 1996 and marked Vol. 16, No. 2, was mailed out in October.

To deal with this problem, and put the *Journal* back on a regular schedule, this present issue, dated May–June 1997, is marked Vol. 16, No. 3. The numbering thus remains sequential, although volume 16 will span the years 1996 and 1997. Because subscriptions are based on the number of issues, and not the calendar year, no subscriber will miss a single issue he's paid for.

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Zaverdinos, Platonov and Graf Join *Journal* Editorial Advisory Committee

We are pleased to welcome three scholars to this *Journal*'s Editorial Advisory Committee. From South Africa, Russia and Switzerland, their membership reflects the international scope and impact of the Institute for Historical Review and its *Journal*.

Zaverdinos

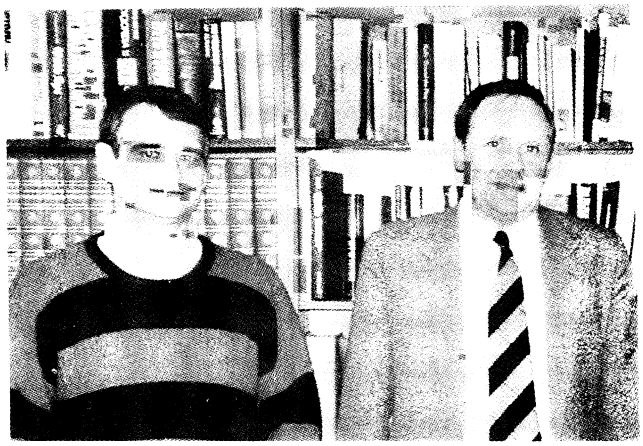
Born in Johannesburg in 1938, Costas Zaverdinos currently teaches at the University of Natal in South Africa. He received a Bachelor of Science degree from Rhodes University, followed by a B.Sc. (Honors) degree in Applied Mathematics from the University of the Witwatersrand (Johannesburg). In 1965 he earned a M.Sc. degree from the University of Natal in Durban. During a three year period in Greece, he held a teaching post at the Athens Technical University.

Since 1970 he has been with the University of Natal (Pietermartizburg), which awarded him a Ph.D. in mathematics in 1984 for his specialized study of "combinatorics," a field related to computer science. He is currently a senior lecturer with the University's department of Mathematics and Applied Mathematics of the Faculty of Science. He is the author of several papers in internationally recognized scholarly journals.

Dr. Costas Zaverdinos

Dr. Zaverdinos has long had a serious interest in the ancient world. In 1989 he obtained a B.A. (Honors) degree *cum laude* in ancient Greek studies, specializing in Socrates and Heraclitus. Since the late 1970s he has been keenly interested in Second World War history, and since 1986 has been an avid reader of revisionist publications.

In letters published in leading South African newspapers, he has effectively presented revisionist arguments on the Holocaust issue while ardently defending the principle of free speech and free inquiry with regard to all aspects of the Second World War. (For example, a letter by him in the *Natal Witness* was reprinted in the July-August 1992 *IHR Newsletter.*)



Dr. Oleg Platonov, right, with *Journal* editor Mark Weber, at the IHR Conference room during a March 1996 visit.

In April 1995 Zaverdinos spoke together with visiting scholar (and *Journal* contributor) Dr. Robert Countess at a meeting at the University of Natal. Prior to introducing Countess, he delivered an address entitled "Can the Standard Version of the Holocaust be Questioned?," in which he sharply criticized the media habit of dismissing Holocaust revisionists as "deniers" or castigating them as "right wing extremists." "For us to be capable of exercising our full humanity," he also said, "we must be in a position to make judgments based on dependable facts, and be able to distinguish propaganda from real history (to borrow David Irving's expression)."

The Journal of Historical Review, Dr. Zaverdinos strongly believes, should continue to emphasize solidly researched, factual scholarly historical writing. He supports Germar Rudolf's call (in the Nov.–Dec. 1994 *Journal*, p. 15) to go beyond showing what is not true about the Holocaust story, to establishing precisely what did happen to Europe's Jews in the "final solution." "In particular," he says, "the vexing question of numbers needs, in my view, a lot more exploration. Also, the extent of the very real massacres of Jews by shooting needs to be established, how this related to German security needs, and to what degree local militias participated." With regard to the emotion-laden Third Reich period, he believes that the *Journal* should strive for understanding, but not justification.

Platonov

Born in 1950, Russian historian and writer Oleg A. Platonov lives and works in Moscow. He holds a doctorate in economics, with a speciality in labor sociology. He is the author of a number of historical works, including "Russian Labor," "The Economy of Russian Civilization," "A Thousand Years of Russian

Jürgen Graf addresses the Twelfth IHR Conference, September 1994.

Entrepreneurship," and "Russian Civilization" (widely used in Russian schools), as well as volumes on the murder of Tsar Nicholas and his family, and about Gregory Rasputin.

Dr. Platonov is a contributor to prominent Russian journals, including *Nash Sovremenik* ("Our Contemporary") and *Molodaya Gvardiya* ("Young Guard"). Currently he is working together with a team of historians on a definitive multi-volume history of Russia in the 20th century.

Graf

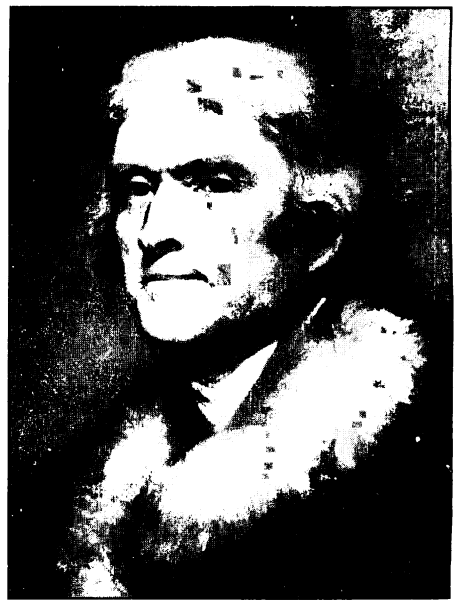
Born in 1951, Jürgen Graf is a Swiss educator who makes his home near Basel. An adaptation of his address at the Twelfth IHR Conference (Sept. 1994) appeared in the Nov.–Dec. 1995 *Journal*.

A meticulous scholar and researcher with an impressive command of languages, including Russian, modern Greek, Mandarin Chinese, and the Scandinavian languages, Graf is also the author of several books dealing with the Holocaust issue. (For further information, write Guideon Burg Verlag, Postfach 52, CH-4009 Basel, Switzerland.)

In March 1993, following the publication of his 112-page book, *Der Holocaust auf dem Prüfstand* ("The Holocaust on the Test Stand"), he was summarily dismissed from his post as a secondary school teacher of Latin and French. (See the Sept. – Oct. 1993 *Journal*, pp. 36–37 , and the Nov.–Dec. 1994 *Journal*, pp. 4–5.)

Together with Italian historian Carlo Mattogno (who also addressed the 1994 IHR Conference), Graf has carried out extensive research at state archives in Russia (See the report in the Nov.–Dec. 1995 *Journal*, pp. 36–37). On the first of these visits, they were accompanied by retired California educator Russell Granata.

Guiding Principles



"[A] wise and frugal government, which shall restrain men from injuring one another, shall leave them otherwise free to regulate their own pursuits of industry and improvement, and shall not take from the mouth of labor the bread it has earned. This is the sum of good government ...

"Equal and exact justice to all men, of whatever state or persuasion, religious or political; peace, commerce, and honest friendship with all nations, entangling alliances with none; ... freedom of religion; freedom of the press, and freedom of person under the protection of habeas corpus, and trial by juries impartially selected. These principles form the bright constellation which has gone before us and guided our steps through an age of revolution and reformation. The wisdom of our sages and blood of our heroes have been devoted to their attainment. They should be the creed of our political faith, the text of civic instruction, the touchstone by which to try the services of those we trust; and should we wander from them in moments of error or of alarm, let us hasten to retrace our steps and to regain the road which alone leads to peace, liberty, and safety."

— Thomas Jefferson, First Inaugural Address, March 4, 1801.

Internationalism vs. Nationalism in the Former Soviet Union

Capitalism in the New Russia

DANIEL W. MICHAELS

Since the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991-1992, and the end of the centrally controlled "command economy," a new class of wealthy private capitalists with close government connections has emerged in Russia. The new ruling clique that has replaced the Soviet-era "*nomenklatura*" is widely referred to by the American-origin term "*istablishment*."

At the same time, life for most Russians has not improved. The great majority still struggles to survive, sometimes below the subsistence level. Industrial and agricultural production have fallen 50 percent in recent years, and millions are not paid their paltry salaries on time. Because most people lack hard currency to buy anything but essentials, consumer goods are generally accessible only to successful speculators, the mafia, and higher government officials. For the average Russian, and especially the elderly, life is not just impoverished, it is becoming desperate. [See: "Nationalist Sentiment Widespread, Growing in Former Soviet Union," Sept.-Oct. 1995 *Journal*, pp. 8-10.]

Russians pin much of the blame for this catastrophe on the ineffectual government of President Boris Yeltsin and his Prime Minister, Viktor Chernomyrdin. In a public statement issued last December, a group of prominent Russian intellectuals spoke out on the crisis in their homeland:

> The catastrophe has run its course. The economic policy of Yeltsin's and Chernomyrdin's aides has made a small section of the former communist *nomenklatura* and of the "new Russians" unbelievably rich, plunged most of the nation's industry into paralysis, and reduced the majority of the population to poverty. As far as property ownership is concerned, the gap between the rich and poor is much deeper now than that which led to the [1917] October [Bolshevik] Revolution.

Daniel W. Michaels is a retired Defense Department analyst who lives in Washington, DC. After graduating in 1954 from Columbia University (Phi Beta Kappa), he studied in Tübingen, Germany (1957), with a Fulbright scholarship.

Corrupt Businessmen Flourish

During the Soviet era, centralized Communist Party rule ensured that economic activity, however inefficient, was at least fairly predictable, with a more or less reliable work force. Although living standards were low, this "banana republic with rockets" was stable in the way that a prison is.

Now lawlessness prevails in Russia, with business life functioning at a level similar to that of Al Capone's Chicago. There is no effective system of laws to ensure the fair and orderly operation of business, banking, finance, insurance, stock trading, and so forth, and existing laws are neither consistently nor impartially enforced. Lawlessness and excess are more often rewarded than punished, and people have little protection against fraud by the new criminal class.

Russia specialist Richard F. Staar, a Senior Fellow at the Hoover Institution, reports in *The Washington Times* (Nov. 27, 1996):

> In his book, *Comrade Criminal*, Stephen Handelman discussed connections between the already then well-established mafia underworld and corrupt bureaucrats, a relationship that apparently now has reached into the Kremlin itself. According to former Russian Social Security Minister Ella A. Pamfilova, a cynical redistribution of property currently is taking place. In her words, "The nature of the ruling class has not changed ... It is the same old corrupt, elitist, nomenklatura-bureaucratic swamp."
>
> What is changing involves the national economy, half of which already has fallen under mob control, according to Security Council Secretary Ivan Rybkin. Former Director of the CIA, Robert M. Gates estimated earlier this year that two-thirds of all commercial institutions, some 400 banks (those in Moscow already control 80 percent of the country's finances), several dozen stock exchanges, and 150 large government enterprises are controlled by the mob.
>
> A recent Russian periodical revealed that about 40 percent of the Gross Domestic Prod-

uct is in the hands of organized crime, mow merged with corrupt official and businessmen.

One prominent scandal involves a businessman named Anatoly Aronov, who is under indictment for establishing some 500 fraudulent paper corporations. By cleverly manipulating the slipshod Russian banking system, and taking full advantage of the uncontrolled market economy, the vulnerability of inexperienced Russians, and the general climate, Aronov created a phantom business empire. After establishing the paper companies as "legal entities," Aronov then sold them at great profit to unwary Russians.

The disorder of Russia's banking system has been described in a November 12 , 1996, article by Rafail Kashlinksy in *Vestnik*, a Russian-language magazine published in the US. Of the more than 2,700 banks in Russia at the beginning of 1995, it reports, by the end of that year the Central Bank of Russia was obliged to revoke licenses of 225 of these, while more than 800 banks finished the year with large losses. Another 500 banks, including some of the largest (such as the Moscow Interregional Commercial Bank), were near bankruptcy by mid-1996.

Woodrow Wilson Center analyst J. Johnson, dispatched to Russia to evaluate the situation, found four main reasons for the country's banking crisis: a lack of professionally trained personnel; credit policy shortcomings; the monopolistic right of the quasi-government Sberbank to intervene in many instances as a government agent, giving it an unfair advantage in attracting clients and gaining access to useful information; and, the role of organized crime, which forces some bankers to divert time and resources to protecting themselves.

Crucial to the transition to a market economy is transferring business enterprises from state to private ownership. But this process has been ridden with abuse and corruption. Most of the oligarchs of Russia's new business elite are not self-made men. On the contrary, they were simply given control of (state-owned) oil, gas, automobile, banking and other enterprises — essentially as gifts of the Yeltsin government to whom, of course, the newly-wealthy (and often youthful) businessmen are indebted.

Through the office of 35-year-old Deputy Prime Minister Alfred Kokh, the government assigns most of the enterprises to friends or supporters of Yeltsin and his administration, who, as new corporate CEOs, show their appreciation by supporting the government with money and favorable media coverage.

In an illustrative case, the Yeltsin government transferred 80 percent ownership shares in Russia's second largest oil company (formerly the state-owned Yukos company) to Mikhail Khodorosvsky, 33-year-old former head of the Communist Youth League and founder of the Menatep Bank. In return, Khodorosvsky turned over $168 million to the Yeltsin administration. (*Newsweek*, March 17, 1997).

The Russian word for privatization, "*privatizatsiya*," is routinely and cynically rendered by Russians as "*prikhvatizatsiya*," meaning "grabbing," or "*piratizatsiya*," meaning "pirating."

Russia's most successful new businessmen, the so-called "Big Seven" (and their main business holdings), are: Rem Vyakhirev (Gazprom), Boris Berezovsky (Logovaz), Vladimir Gusinsky (Most Bank), Vaghit Alekperov (Lukoil), Alexander Smolensky (Stolichnyy Bank), Mikhail Khodorkovsky (Rosprom), and Andrey Kazmin (Sberbank).

These seven men alone, experts believe, control virtually half of the companies whose shares are rated the highest at the national stock market. Other prominent members of the new business elite include Vladimir Potanin (Oneksim Bank), Vladimir Vinogradov (Inkombank), Anatoly Dyakov (RAO EES Rossii), Yakov Dubenetsky (Promstroybank), and Petr Aven (Alpha Bank). (*Izvestia* [Moscow], Jan. 5, 1997).

It is estimated that more than $60 billion has already found its way from Russia into Swiss banks, reports the London *Financial Times*. Of this amount, $10 billion is believed to be mafia money. This same paper also reports (Feb. 14) that criminal groups control some 41,000 companies in Russia, half the banks and 80 percent of the joint ventures.

Conscious of the precarious foundation of the Russian economy, foreign businessmen are understandably apprehensive about investing in this treacherous environment.

To deal with the situation, some steps have been taken. Russia's Federation (national) government is attempting to introduce a Civil Code based on that of The Netherlands, while American advisors have written statutes to govern operations of joint stock companies. But because Russia's historical experience has little in common with either the Dutch or the American, it is doubtful that these administrative imports will prove very effective.

Previous Russian experience with capitalism — from the mid 19th-century to the 1917 revolution, and during the short-lived "New Economic Policy" (NEP) period (1921-1928) — is scant help in establishing a modern free market economy. While it is true that industrial development advanced rapidly in Russia in the decades immediately preceding the outbreak of the First World War (1914), it is also true that the plight of the emerging working class was often miserable — a source of unrest that con-

tributed to the revolutionary upheavals of 1905 and 1917. And the NEP experience was too brief and limited in scope to serve as a useful model. (The corruption of "Nepmen" incidentally provided abundant source material for Soviet satirists.)

Unless and until drastic changes are made, a healthy market economy cannot develop. These changes must include: a comprehensive code of business and banking law to protect investments, a credible judicial system to rigorously and impartially enforce the laws, a sweeping purge of corrupt police personnel, a country-wide crackdown on crime and corruption, and a stable monetary policy.

What is particularly tragic about Russia's economic calamity is that this vast land has such potential. In addition to a generally capable and well-trained managerial and working population, Russia is rich in natural resources, including oil, iron ore, gold and timber. Properly administered, this could be a very prosperous country.

Political Corruption

Without honest and effective political leadership, though, prosperity for the great majority will remain an elusive hope. Given its record so far, the government of President Boris Yeltsin can hardly be expected to provide the needed guidance and direction.

During last year's election Russian banks directed substantial resources to favored political candidates. While some backed the national-patriotic and Communist candidates, those who supported Yeltsin were rewarded. Thus, when Yeltsin formed his new post-election administration he appointed Vladimir Potanin, the 35-year-old president and co-founder of the country's biggest private bank, Oneksim Bank, as first vice premier for economics.

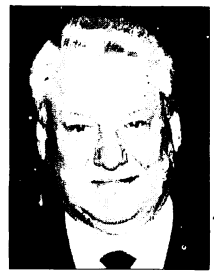
Because Yeltsin owes his July 1996 reelection victory in large measure to the financial and media support of Russia's new plutocrats, his government is widely disdained as an instrument of alien interests. Although many former Communist Party officials (including Yeltsin himself), as well as former KGB functionaries, continue to occupy high-level positions in Russia, the Yeltsin administration is widely regarded as an American-controlled and -directed "internationalist" regime. Yeltsin's chief of staff and primary economic advisor, Anatoly Chubais (age 41), is viewed as a US stooge at best, and a CIA agent at worst.

Opposing Yeltsin and his adherents is a diverse array of nationalists: national communists, national socialists, and national capitalists. In general, they call for a healthy, nationally-conscious Russian folk capable of defending and restoring the nation's dangerously dissipated ethnic and cultural character. [See: E. Zündel, "My Impressions of the New Russia," Sept.-Oct. 1995 *Journal*, pp. 2-8.]

Easily the most popular political figure in Russia today is General Aleksandr Lebed, a decorated Afghan war hero and the broker of peace in Chechnya. Even his critics concede his basic honesty. "Ordinary Russians are as far from the real levers of power today as they were during Soviet Communist Party rule," says Lebed. Half the nation's economy, he adds, is controlled by "a small group of banks and financial-industrial groups, while the other half is controlled by criminal clans."

To protect their own corrupt business empires, the new plutocrats around Yeltsin will predictably do everything in their power to keep Lebed, or any authentically Russian figure, regardless of popularity, from taking power.

Not surprisingly, Lebed complains that he now has become invisible in the pages and programs controlled by the major media barons. In addition, no major bank will help finance him for fear of Kremlin retribution. (*Newsweek*, March 17, 1997.)



Boris Yeltsin

Prime Minister Chernomyrdin and Communist Party leader Gennady Zyuganov reportedly (*Washington Times*, Feb. 8) have discussed forming a political alliance to keep Lebed out of power if Yeltsin dies in office. Chernomyrdin and some of his backers, among them Moscow's major bankers, are said to fear possible arrest as part of a nationwide campaign against corruption demanded by Lebed. (Chernomyrdin and Zyuganov have been personal friends since they served together six years ago on the Central Committee of the former Soviet Communist Party.)

To deal with the growing nationalist sentiment, authorities in Moscow are considering steps to crack down on its most extreme manifestations. Moscow's Municipal Duma is considering a measure that prohibits the display or political use of symbols associated with Third Reich on the grounds that they disrupt the general order, incite to violence in a multinational society, and foster political extremism. Also forbidden would be the wearing of uniforms, displaying swastikas, and the use of the Roman (Hitler) salute as a greeting.

Zionist Kingmaker Berezovsky

Personifying Russia's new ruling class is Boris Abramovich Berezovsky, a Jewish business magnate, media mogul, and high-ranking government official whom *US News & World Report* calls (Jan. 13, 1997) "the most influential new capitalist tycoon

in Russia." His business empire includes a bank, one of the few national television channels, oil concerns and automobile dealerships. (*Forward* [New York], Nov. 22, 1996.) After taking advantage of high-level political connections to quickly amass enormous wealth, Berezovsky provided large sums and favorable media coverage to insure the re-election of President Yeltsin, who then appointed him to the country's national Security Council.

Boris Berezovsky

An important step in Berezovsky's ambitious upward climb was his acquisition of Sibneft, Russia's sixth-largest oil company. He gained this immensely important asset not through honest business practices or competitive bidding, but as a gift of the State Committee for the Management of State Property. Committee head Kokh simply appointed Berezovsky to take over Sibneft, and President Yeltsin signed the papers to approve the transfer. (*Komsomolskaya Pravda* [Moscow], Jan. 25).

Contributing to his image as the stereotypical international capitalist, Berezovsky ostentatiously roars around Moscow in a dark-blue bulletproof Mercedes 600, protected by a BMW in front, and bodyguards in Mitsubishi jeeps on either side. His private security staff numbers 150, including 20 former KGB technical surveillance specialists.

In the view of the country's "democratic reformers," the *US News & World* article continues, "Berezovsky and his ilk" have "exploited for personal gain wrongheaded economic reforms that were impoverishing the average man." Berezovsky

> has proved that building wealth in the new Russia has much to do with government cronies smoothing the way and little to do with free competition ... Most disturbing of all to Russian reformers is the impunity with which Berezovsky has operated. His road to capitalism would have landed him in jail in most civilized countries, but brought no criminal charges in the new Russia.

Berezovsky, reports the New York Jewish weekly *Forward* (April 4, 1997), is "among those fabulously wealthy and hugely resented new Russian industrialists — robber barons accused of milking Russia dry — who bankrolled Mr. Yeltsin's presidential campaign, buying the keys to the state." Berezovsky has publicly boasted that he and six other top businessmen — some of them Jewish — control 50 percent of the Russian economy.

Not long ago Berezovsky bragged to the London *Financial Times*: "We hired [First Deputy Prime Minister] Chubais. We invested huge sums of money. We guaranteed Yeltsin's election. Now we have the right to occupy government posts and use the fruits of our victory." (Quoted in *Forward*, April 4, 1997)

An article in a December issue of the American business magazine *Forbes* accuses Berezovsky of running a criminally corrupt business organization. Headlined "Godfather of the Kremlin?," the article concludes "It sure looks that way."

A major scandal erupted in late 1996, following Yeltsin's appointment of Berezovsky as deputy chief of Russia's national Security Council (akin to the US National Security Council), when it was revealed that he had acquired Israeli citizenship three years earlier.

Responding to those who questioned the propriety of a wealthy businessman with foreign citizenship holding a highly sensitive security post, "Berezovsky and a number of television and newspapers journalists in his employ responded with racial demagoguery, accusing his critics of anti-Semitism." Berezovsky "met with the editors of *Izvestia* for a series of interviews in which he mixed charges of anti-Semitism with thinly veiled threats of violence." (*Forward*, Nov. 22, 1996) He has even brazenly insisted that Yeltsin has a moral and material obligation to Jewish business in Russia. (*Komsomolskaya Pravda*, Nov. 5, 1996).

"Every Jew, regardless of where he is born or lives, is *de facto* a citizen of Israel," Berezovsky declared in a candid response to his critics. "The fact that I have annulled my Israeli citizenship today in no way changes the fact that I am a Jew and can again become a citizen of Israel whenever I choose. Let there be no illusions about it, 'every Jew in Russia is a dual citizen'." (*Segodnya* ["Today"], Nov. 14, 1996).

The Security Committee of Russia's parliament (the Duma) has appealed to Yeltsin to remove Berezovsky from his sensitive Security Council position on the grounds that his dual Israeli-Russian citizenship legally disqualifies him from occupying the post. According to the Russian Federation's Citizenship Law, he could legally occupy this post only on the basis of a specific agreement between Russia and Israel. No such agreement exists. Moreover, the Duma committee contends, Berezovsky is further disqualified because he has failed to sever his business connections after accepting the position. Finally, before he could be given legal access to clas-

sified information, the Federal Security Service would have to investigate and clear him. (*Segodnya* [Moscow], Feb. 19)

With good reason, the well-informed Jewish weekly *Forward* (Nov. 22) has expressed concern that Berezovsky's illicit business activities and his arrogant public statements, as well as President Yeltsin's indulgence of him, may aggravate anti-Jewish sentiment and thereby jeopardize the future of all of Russia's Jews:

> Given that many of the moguls who backed Mr. Yeltsin's [reelection] campaign, including Mr. Berezovsky, are Jews, it seemed he was tempting, if not openly inviting, anti-Semitic conspiracy theories ... Yeltsin's failure to fire Berezovsky really puts the future of democracy in Russia, and the bizarre situation of the Jews there, in even sharper focus.

Vladimir Gusinsky

Nearly as rich and as influential as Berezovsky is Vladimir Gusinsky, another immensely wealthy Jewish banker and media magnate who played a key role in reelecting Yeltsin. (*Forward*, April 4, 1997) An outspoken advocate of Jewish interests, Gusinsky is a close ally of presidential chief of staff, Chubais. According to a *Wall Street Journal* report, he has ties to organized crime.

After a meteoric career building Most Bank, Gusinsky now devotes his energies to Media-Most, a new media holding company that includes the important NTV television network; a slick television weekly, "7 Days"; a popular radio station, "Echo of Moscow"; and a weekly news magazine, *Itogi*, which is published in partnership with *Newsweek* (owned by the *Washington Post* company); NTV-Plus satellite television network; and a 100,000-circulation daily newspaper, *Sevodnya*. (*The Washington Post*, March 31, 1997). He also has close connections with international media tycoon Rupert Murdoch.

When Prime Minister Chernomyrdin arrived in Washington, DC, in early February for a meeting with President Clinton, the 44-year-old Gusinsky accompanied him. On the day of their arrival, author/journalist Georgie Anne Geyer wrote (*Washington Times*, Feb. 6):

> On the surface Gusinsky is chairman of the powerful Most Bank and the "independent" Moscow TV ... His bank was on the CIA's recent list of banks with Russian mafia connections. In 1994, Most Bank was the scene of a bitter shootout with Mr. Yeltsin's then-favorite KGB General Aleksander Korzhakov after which Mr. Gusinsky and his family temporarily exiled themselves to London. Most Bank is also known as a veritable den of former KGB men, and not KGB men from the professional intelligence sections, but from the notorious "Fifth Chief Directorate."
>
> Mr. Gusinsky now has a new role to play. He has had himself named head of the Russian Jewish Congress, and the suspicion is widespread that he will use his growing contacts with the American Jewish community to cry "Discrimination!" whenever anyone dares to criticize his business methods ... We need to recognize what a delicate and dangerous moment this is in Russia when President Yeltsin's life hangs in the balance, and men like Mr. Berezovsky and Mr. Gusinsky are readying to fill the vacuum that will surely open soon. They have talked publicly about using "constitutional means" when the time comes to insure an appointed president rather than new elections (in particular to avoid a victory of the honest General Aleksandr Lebed).

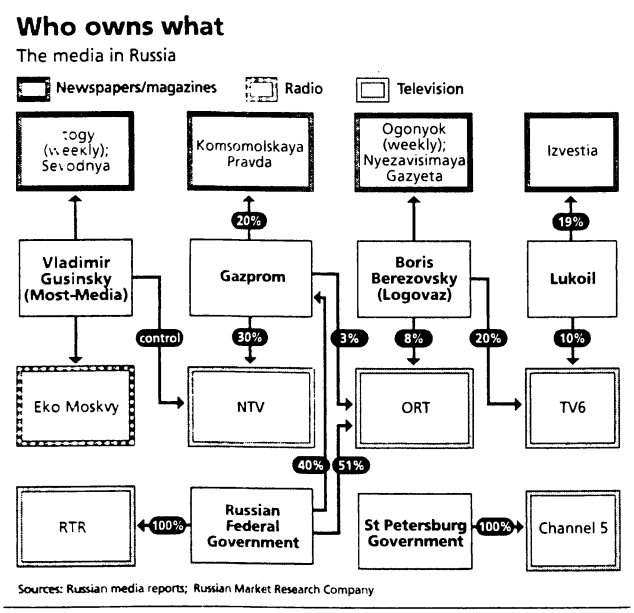
Crucial Jewish Role

No one can really understand Russia's tumultuous social, political and economic situation, with its complex contending forces, without an awareness of the role of Jews, both in the past and today, and the popular attitude toward them.

During the Soviet era, Jews played a prominent, perhaps dominant, role in the ruling Communist Party and in economic, cultural and academic life. [See: M. Weber, "The Jewish Role in the Bolshevik Revolution and the Early Soviet Regime," Jan.-Feb. 1994 *Journal*, pp. 4-14.] Today Jews hold conspicuous positions of great wealth and authority. Although they make up perhaps three percent of the total population, Jews wield power vastly disproportionate to their numbers. As the London *Times* noted recently (Jan. 27, 1997):

> Prominent Jewish figures today enjoy unprecedented positions of power in politics, the media and the private sector, and have emerged as some of Russia's most creative and talented minds. Boris Berezovsky, the most influential Russian Jew, who holds the post of deputy head of the Security Council as well as controlling a small business empire, even boasted recently that the country was run by seven key bankers, most of them Jewish.
>
> Although anti-Semitism is still a powerful undercurrent in Russian society, and could resurface in the event of a nationalist leader coming to power, for the moment anti-Jewish sentiment is rarely voiced openly.

Besides such business figures as Berezovsky and



This chart from the London *Economist* (Feb. 25, 1997) shows the close ties linking business, media and government in Russia. The Russian federal government, for example, controls 100% of RTR television, 40% of the country's gas monopoly company, and 51% of ORT television, while the St. Petersburg city government controls 100% of Channel 5 television. Jewish businessman Boris Berezovsky controls Logovaz, the country's most prestigious automobile manufacturer, and has partial control of ORT and TV6 television, as well as the newspaper *Nezavisimaya Gazeta* and the weekly magazine *Ogonyok*. Another Jewish businessman, Vladimir Gusinsky, controls NTV television, *Sevodnya* newspaper, and the weekly news magazine *Itogi*.

Gusinsky, a recent *Forward* article (April 4, 1997) cites such high-ranking Jewish government officials as: Boris Nemstov, first deputy prime minister in charge of social welfare, housing reform and restructuring of government monopolies; Yakov Urinson, deputy prime minister for economic affairs; and, Aleksandr Livshits, deputy head of Yeltsin's administration.

Anti-Semitism was strictly illegal during the Soviet era. Today anti-Jewish sentiment is not only widespread, it is openly and sometimes forcefully expressed, in spite of Yeltsin government disapproval. Russian newspapers frequently and often emotionally discuss their country's national-ethnic questions, the re-awakening Russian nationalism, and the role of Jews in society, in terms of an ongoing struggle between nationalism and internationalism. "Isn't it a pity that anti-Semitism is flourishing in Russia today like 'chrysanthemums in a garden'," the frankly nationalist paper *Zavtra* ("Tomorrow") sarcastically comments (No. 47, Nov 1996).

Even Gennady Zyuganov, leader of the reconstituted Communist Party (currently the main opposition political force), has written in his book, *I Believe in Russia*:

> The ideology, culture and world outlook of the Western world became more and more influenced by the Jews scattered around the world. Jewish influence grew not by the day, but by the hour.

Reflecting the widespread bitterness of many Russians is a front-page article in *Zavtra* (Nov. 1996, No. 48), which charges that a group of "13 banker apostles" has gained control of the country. It went on to warn readers: " ... The Constitution has been one-third torn to pieces right under your nose in the last five years, and from this day on you will live under the jurisdiction of the Jewish bankers whose wallets protect the thugs of [television stations] ORT and NTV."

Informed Russians are quite aware of America's special relationship with Israel, with the Jewish lobby's mighty influence in the United States, with the preferential treatment given by the US immigration agency (INS) to Jewish immigrants, and with the zealous US concern for Jewish welfare in general. Accordingly, Russian nationalists tend to view Jewish capitalists in their country as quasi-agents of the United States.

Concerned about a possible backlash, many Russian Jews, reports the Moscow correspondent of the *Forward* (April 4, 1997), now say that "there are too many Jews in government. There are too many Jewish bankers running the country." Jews fear that with such a conspicuous profile they will be viewed as a group that has grown wealthy through dishonest practices at the expense of the productive working people, and that Russians will blame them for humiliating and ruining the nation. Anyway, a prominent Jewish community leader notes, "people here have quite bitter memories of the participation of Jews in the [Bolshevik] revolution." (*Forward*, April 4, 1997)

Writing in *Zavtra* (No. 43, Oct. 1996), analyst Aleksandr Sevastyanov describes the contrasting attitudes of Russians and Jews with regard to Russia's future:

> There are many Jews in the country who preach the idea of a new Russian empire for the simple reason that for them Russian imperialism is a synonym for internationalism under new circumstances. Not having succeeded in its time with the Comintern [the Soviet- con-

trolled Communist International], they now say "let's try an empire." Their ideal is a flourishing multinational Russia, where the Russians themselves are not really the rulers.

For us nationalists, this kind of Russia is pure nonsense — not worth our time or our support. Every normal Russian believes in his heart, and rightly so: "We have created this state and we shall rule it." On the other hand, every typical Jew thinks to himself: "Yes, you Russians created the state, but we Jews shall rule it because we are the elite of the Russian nation, the natural claimants to the role of an imperial people. And we shall do so because we are the richest, the most united, the best educated, and the most cultured. If we do not rule Russia, then who?"

And, alas, today we Russians are not yet in a position even to pretend to an imperial role. The Soviet empire collapsed because the Russian people lost the ability to preserve or prevent the collapse of the great nation they had been built up over the centuries. To attempt to recapture its former ruling role, without first recapturing the ethnic strength that made it possible, would be suicidal. Solzhenitsyn is again right when he says: "Any attempt to restore the empire today would be tantamount to burying the Russian people." We must first concentrate on solving the problems that have weakened us as a people. They are, first and foremost, demographic, and only secondarily economic, social, military, cultural, and the rest. We most reject all other activities that do not focus on the revitalization of our people. We cannot permit ourselves to be diverted from our absolutely essential goal, which is ethno–egocentric — not even by the ephemeral lure of empire building.

A Time of Ominous Transition

Still emerging from seven decades of Soviet rule, Russians are groping toward a new sense of national identity. Not yet having come to grips with its past, this is a land of historical paradox. Thus, Lenin's embalmed corpse is still enshrined in a monumental sarcophagus on Moscow's Red Square, and not a single former Communist official has been brought to trial for Soviet-era crimes.

As Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn has observed, Russia today is neither an authentic political democracy nor a genuine free market economy. While an ambitious few amass vast fortunes and great power through illicit deals, the country's productive workers, children and elderly suffer. A small oligarchy rules over a population that lives in near destitution. "Democracy in the true sense of the word does not exist in Russia," writes Solzhenitsyn. He continues:

> There exists no legal framework or financial means for the creation of local self-government. People will have no choice but to achieve it through social struggle ... This system of centralized power cannot be called a democracy ... The fate of the country is now decided by a stable oligarchy of 150-200 people, which includes the nimbler members of the old Communist system's top and middle ranks, plus the *nouveaux riches* ... Our present ruling circles have not shown themselves in the least morally superior to the Communists who preceded them ... Russia is being exhausted by crime, not a single serious crime has been exposed, nor has there been a single public trial ... This destructive course of events over the last decade has come about because the government, while ineptly imitating foreign models, has completely disregarded the country's innate creativity and singular character as well as Russia's centuries-old spiritual and social traditions.

For the historically minded observer, the parallels between Russia today and Germany during the pre-Hitler Weimar republic years are striking and portentous. In each case, there has been severe economic, political and social upheaval, monetary chaos, substantial loss of territory, and humiliating subordination to foreign powers following the abrupt collapse of an seemingly entrenched political regime. Unscrupulous individuals, many of them members of an alien ethnic minority, have exploited their foreign connections and the prevailing disorder to quickly enrich themselves at the expense of the common people. Major media and financial institutions are largely in the hands of people with no national loyalty. In each case, the social dislocation has come with a drastic fall in cultural and moral standards.

Much of the talk in the United States about democracy in Russia is as ridiculous today as it has always been. *Plus ça change, plus c'est la meme chose*. Throughout its history, Russia has been ruled by an elite, entrenched in Moscow and St. Petersburg, often of non-Russian origin and fascinated by Western philosophies.

As a potentially wealthy country with a proud and illustrious past, it is difficult to imagine that Russians will permit the current miserable and humiliating situation to continue indefinitely. At the same time, it's hard to see how Russia's problems can be mastered without very drastic change.

Is Revisionism a Threat to National Security?

Defense Department Booklet Targets Holocaust Revisionism

American military service personnel are now being told that skepticism toward the official history of Europe's Jews during World War II is not permissible. A recently published Department of Defense booklet tells armed forces members that revisionist criticism of the Six Million extermination story is nothing less than a threat to national security.

Entitled *Holocaust Revisionism*, the booklet instructs military personnel: "A successful fighting force is a cohesive one, one where all members have respect for each other's diversity and dignity. Holocaust revisionism has the potential to destroy that respect."

It goes on to explain:

> One of the most important missions that commanders have is the mission to "Protect the Force." Part of that protection requires that we be aware of movements that might weaken the effectiveness of our fighting forces ... Holocaust revisionism is a real force, such as racism, hatred, or discrimination, that must be dealt with. Not to deal with it is not to give our members in uniform the support that they need to defend this Nation.

Promoting 'Diversity'

The 20-page booklet was published in June 1996 by the "Research Directorate" of the Defense Equal Opportunity Management Institute (DEOMI) in Florida, a Defense Department branch that promotes and oversees racial preference ("affirmative action") programs, and trains (indoctrinates) military personnel in "diversity" and "equal employment opportunity."

With the seal of the US Department of Defense on the front cover, this "resource and educational" booklet is printed by the US Government Printing Office. (Although it announces that "local reproduction is authorized and encouraged," general distribution has been inexplicably delayed.) The booklet's author, Captain Carlos C. Huerta, is an orthodox Jewish rabbi who has served as a US Army chaplain at Fort Sill in Oklahoma. Born and raised in Brooklyn, New York, Huerta has also lived for years in Israel, where he taught at a Jewish school in Jerusalem.

Smears Instead of Refutation

Typical of anti-revisionist writings, this booklet makes no effort to fairly present revisionist arguments, much less to contend with revisionist scholarship. As Huerta explains in the introduction: "We will not refute revisionism here but merely report its many activities. Refuting revisionism is similar to refuting racism, *raisa ipso locutor*, the thing speaks for itself."

Rather than refute, Huerta disparages, distorts and twists. In the booklet's opening sentence, he brusquely slurs the Institute for Historical Review (IHR), a leading revisionist publishing and research center, as a "pseudo-historical society" whose "main operational concept ... [is] the misrepresentation of historical truths by those with a hidden agenda." He also calls the IHR "one of the biggest disseminators of revisionist and racist literature in the country." Without a shred of evidence, he asserts that "some European revisionists seek to hurt what they perceive as non-Aryan Europeans, and hate anything that is not a mirror image of themselves."

Huerta claims that the person who is "interested in Holocaust revisionism often is also interested in purchasing books on hate and racism." To support this false and irrelevant contention, he lists nine titles, some of them distributed by the IHR and some by Noontide Press (a distinctly separate publishing imprint), with brief and grotesquely misleading descriptions of each. These include: Arthur Butz' *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century* ("Argues that Auschwitz was just a rubber factory for the Nazi war effort"); Thies Christophersen's *Auschwitz: Truth or Lie — An Eyewitness Report*; *America: Free, White & Christian* ("An argument showing that America should be a White Christian nation); *The Testing of Negro Intelligence* ("Argues that African-Americans are less intelligent than White Americans"); *Resettlement* ("Argues for the resettlement of African-Americans"); and, *The Martin Luther King Plagiarism Story* ("Argues that Dr.

King's educational credentials are phony").

While attempting to smear revisionists as "haters" or "racists," rabbi Huerta makes no mention of the numerous hate crimes against revisionists. Professor Robert Faurisson, Europe's most prominent revisionist scholar, has been the victim of ten physical attacks by Jewish thugs, including a nearly fatal beating on September 16, 1989. In southern California, arsonists torched the IHR offices and warehouse on July 4, 1984, culminating months of vandalism, hate mail, threatening telephone calls and other harassment. (For more on all this, see the IHR booklet, *The Zionist Terror Network*, and "Jewish Militants: Fifteen Years, and More, of Terrorism in France," in the March-April 1996 *Journal*, pp. 2-13.)

Pernicious Nonsense

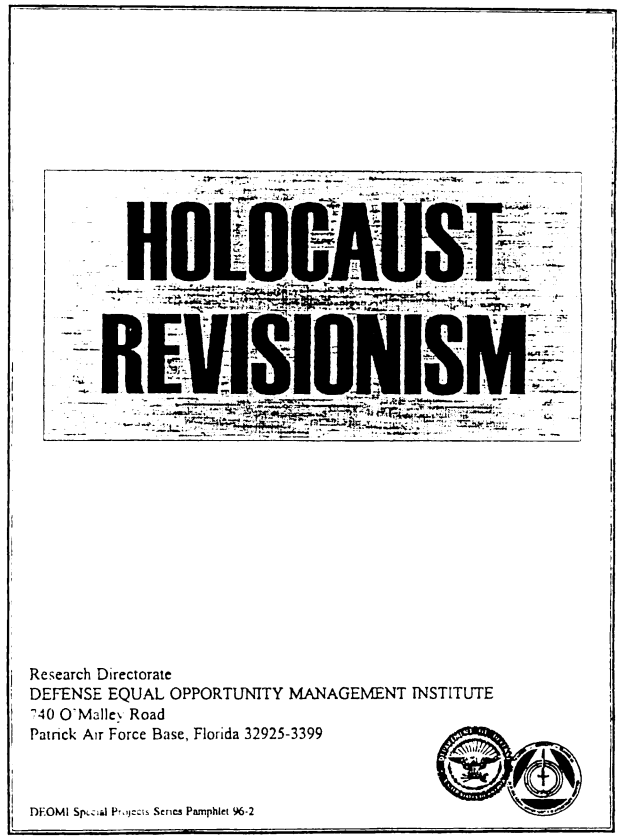
This booklet's author must have realized the difficulty of convincing non-Jewish readers that Holocaust revisionism really endangers America's military effectiveness. But rabbi Huerta takes a stab at it:

> The question arises, why should we [?] be aware of or care about Holocaust revisionism? As a service member or Commander, how does this impact my mission. Holocaust revisionism does not operate in an isolated or sterile environment. Often the same groups that believe in revisionism believe in racism or the overthrown of the government; however, this is not to say that all revisionists are racist or anti-government, but it appears [?] more so than not. This movement has grown so much in the last decade that more and more Americans are being exposed to its message through the printed word, radio, TV and now the Internet.

This officially-sanctioned attempt to smear revisionism by associating it with "racism" and sedition is a vile slander. Holocaust revisionism is the polar opposite of bigotry, and has nothing to do with "hatred." Predictably, not a shred of evidence is offered to show, specifically, how revisionism threatens "respect" for the "diversity and dignity" of any member of the US armed forces.

In essence, this booklet is an arrogant effort to persuade non-Jewish Americans to regard parochial Jewish-Zionist concerns as their own. That such pernicious nonsense is published with official sanction makes it all the more reprehensible.

If this booklet's author is as sincerely concerned as he pretends to be about "racism, hatred, or discrimination," his time and effort might better be spent instructing fellow Jews in Israel, where Christians and Muslims are routinely treated as second class citizens, and whose official ideology, Zionism, has been condemned by the United Nations General Assembly as a form of racism.



This new Defense Department booklet tells military personnel that skepticism toward the official history of Europe's Jews during World War II is impermissible, and that revisionist criticism of the Six Million extermination story is a potential threat to America's national security.

Attitudes that threaten "diversity and dignity" are far more widespread in Israel than in the United States. According to an authoritative 1994 survey of 3,700 Jewish and Arab high school students, for example, more than 35 percent of young Israelis say they hate Arabs. Two-thirds of the youths surveyed said they do not believe that Arabs should given equal rights in Israel. (JTA dispatch, *Forward* [New York], Nov. 29, 1996, p. 3; *Washington Report on Middle East Affairs*, March 1997, p. 47.)

At a time when the US military must grapple with such pressing problems as racial friction, drug use, sexual harassment and even illiteracy, this government-sanctioned attack against Holocaust revisionism is a waste of time and taxpayer's money, and is further evidence of skewed societal and government priorities.

For savvy readers, the one message of this book-

let that does come through loud and clear is this: "Holocaust revisionism is a career buster. Don't get involved with it." Beyond that, though, it is doubtful that many in the military will take this booklet very seriously, much less find its arguments convincing. Such government-mandated activities to promote "diversity" are widely, if quietly, dismissed as a waste of time.

Earlier Warnings

This Defense Department booklet is not rabbi Huerta's first effort at sounding the alarm about revisionism. In an article published in the New York Jewish monthly *Midstream* (April 1992), for example, he warned that "the traditional method of dealing with Holocaust revisionism by ignoring it will no longer suffice."

He expressed a similar concern in the Sept.-Oct. 1991 issue of *Martyrdom and Resistance* (published in New York by the International Society for Yad Vashem). In his article, "Holocaust Revisionism in the Classroom," Huerta conceded that revisionist arguments are not easily dismissed:

> Perhaps ten years ago, surely twenty years ago, one could justifiably argue that there was no need to teach Holocaust revisionism in Holocaust courses, as revisionism was nothing more than a smattering of articles by unknown and scattered people. The story today is quite different. Revisionism is now a world-wide phenomenon spreading across Europe, the Americas, the Middle East, and some parts of Asia. It is becoming increasingly organized, sophisticated, and well financed.

To deal with this challenge, Huerta continued, Jewish students

> should be taught who the Holocaust revisionists are, their methods, and their literature. I would go so far as to say that all Jewish high schools and colleges should have copies of such literature at their disposal.

Admittedly there's a danger here. As Huerta goes on note, non-Jews might evaluate revisionist writings on their own, "without official Jewish approval":

> One can argue, and justifiably so, that teaching Holocaust revisionism in Jewish high schools and colleges is an open invitation for similar institutions in the non-Jewish sector to teach the topic. The fear here is that they will not teach it with an eye to supporting the Holocaust, but rather to denying it. The fact of the matter is that schools are already teaching Holocaust revisionism — without official Jewish approval.

Grudging Homage

Although *Holocaust Revisionism* is a polemical work of propaganda, and contains numerous factual errors, it's not as strident, vicious or error-ridden as the anti-revisionist materials put out by such major Jewish-Zionist groups as the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) and the Simon Wiesenthal Center. For one thing, it avoids the term "Holocaust denial," and indicates that this widely used but pejorative label (preferred by the ADL and Jewish academic Deborah Lipstadt) is not accurate.

In this regard, the booklet quotes *Journal of Historical Review* editor Mark Weber, who explains just what Holocaust revisionists say, and do not say:

> They [revisionists] do not dispute the fact that large numbers of Jews were deported to concentration camps and ghettos, or that many Jews died or were killed during the Second World War. Revisionist scholars have, however, presented considerable evidence to show that there was no German program to exterminate Europe's Jews, that numerous claims of mass killings in "gas chambers" are false, and that the estimate of six million Jewish wartime dead is an irresponsible exaggeration.

"In short," Huerta comments, "revisionists do not deny the Holocaust, they just want to redefine it."

Unlike other, more polemical attacks, Huerta acknowledges that revisionist arguments cannot simply be dismissed: "One thing should be made clear. If everything Holocaust revisionists wrote or said were clearly wrong, then their following would be limited to a few quacks or crazies ... To say that everything revisionists propound is false is an invitation for mistake." So perhaps the thing doesn't speak for itself, after all.

This booklet also succinctly traces the origins and development of scholarly Holocaust revisionism, noting that the phenomenon is rooted in the honorable tradition of historical revisionism, a discipline that encompasses much more than the Holocaust issue. It takes a look at the work and impact of important Holocaust revisionist scholars, researchers and activists. "To understand the motivation and psyche of the revisionists, and therefore understand their effect, and on whom," it explains, "we present some of the key players in this macabre revision of history and look at some of their 'important' contributions." This section begins with a page and a half treatment of the "Father of Holocaust

Revisionism," Paul Rassinier — the French educator and *Resistance* activist who was interned during the war in the German concentration camps of Buchenwald and Dora. Also dealt with are the roles of Arthur Butz, Robert Faurisson, Fred Leuchter, Ernst Zündel, Bradley Smith, Carlo Mattogno and Wilhelm Stäglich.

Surprisingly respectful is Huerta's treatment of Fred Leuchter, the American execution hardware specialist who conducted an on-site forensic examination in early 1988 of the alleged mass killing facilities at Auschwitz and Birkenau. At the Toronto "Holocaust trial" of German-Canadian publisher Ernst Zündel, Leuchter testified that these sites were not and could not have been used as homicidal gas chambers. (For more about Leuchter and his findings, see the Winter 1992-93 *Journal*.)

Unlike most critics of revisionism, Huerta acknowledges Leuchter's competence and expertise. He writes that Leuchter was "a consultant to many states on gassing, lethal injection, hanging and electrocution execution hardware," and notes that when the Zündel defense team contacted US prison officials to ask who they would recommend as an expert in execution equipment, "one name kept coming up: Fred A. Leuchter."

The members of the Editorial Advisory Committee of the IHR's *Journal of Historical Review*, along with each one's academic credentials, are listed in "Appendix D." Introducing it is a warning: "Just picking up the [IHR] journal and looking at this listing, the uninitiated reader could come away thinking that the journal must be a mainstream academic publication, and as a consequence, the articles and the opinions must be legitimate and factual." Several of the most important revisionist Internet Web site (home page) addresses, including those of Greg Raven (IHR) and Arthur Butz, are provided in "Appendix A."

Growing Impact

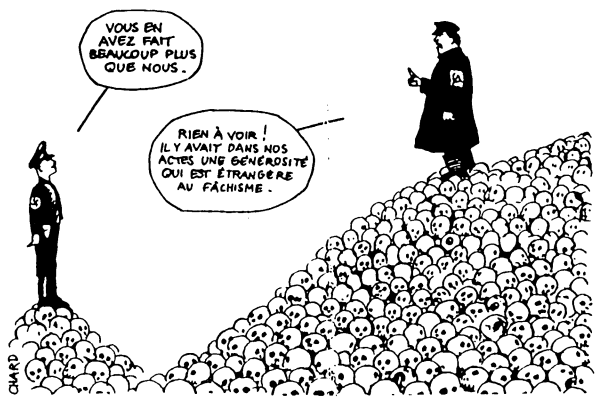
With each passing year, Americans are called upon with ever greater urgency to "never forget" the European Jews who perished during World War II, and to "learn the lessons" of their fate. Numerous federal government agencies — led by the United States Holocaust Memorial Council — along with many US Senators and Congressmen, and state and city governments across the country, now routinely participate in annual Holocaust remembrance commemorations. "Holocaust education" is required in ever more American high schools.

Even the military has joined in. The Secretary of Defense has repeatedly urged all military personnel to participate in annual Holocaust "commemorative observances," and a *Days of Remembrance* Defense Department booklet even suggests Holocaust commemorative liturgies for the armed forces. (See the Sept.-Oct. 1995 *Journal*, p. 13).

In this environment there's reason to welcome rabbi Huerta's new Defense Department booklet. It is not only further evidence of the growing impact of Holocaust revisionism, as bad as it is, it may actually help to promote the very open-mindedness and healthy skepticism toward "official" history that it seeks to curtail.

Not all US military servicemen are simple-minded conformists. Especially in the officer corps, there are still many intelligent men and women who can think for themselves.

This booklet may introduce Holocaust revisionism to many who otherwise might never hear of it, encouraging some to consider, even if only briefly, an alternative view of this important chapter of history.


VOUS EN AVEZ FAIT BEAUCOUP PLUS QUE NOUS.
RIEN À VOIR ! IL Y AVAIT DANS NOS ACTES UNE GÉNÉROSITÉ QUI EST ÉTRANGÈRE AU FASCHISME.
CHARD

"You did much more of them than we did." "Nothing to compare! In our actions there was a generosity that is foreign to fascism." This cartoon from the French periodical *Présent* (Nov. 4, 1995), comparing the victims of National Socialism and the victims of Communism, points up a prevailing double standard regarding 20th century history.

Thanks

We've stirred up things a lot since the first issue of the *Journal of Historical Review* came out in the spring of 1980 — 17 years ago. Without the staunch support of you, our subscribers, it couldn't have survived. So please keep sending those clippings, the helpful and critical comments on our work, the informative articles, and the extra boost over and above the subscription price. It's our life blood. To everyone who has helped keep this *Journal* alive, our sincerest thanks.

Thies Christophersen

Thies Christophersen — pioneer revisionist writer and courageous fighter for truth in history — died February 13, 1997, at Molfsee, Kiel, in north Germany. He was 79.

In a memoir first published in Germany in 1973, he related his wartime experiences as a German army officer in the Auschwitz camp complex. "During the time I was in Auschwitz, I did not notice the slightest evidence of mass gassings," he wrote in *Die Auschwitz-Lüge* ("The Auschwitz Lie"). As one of the first important works squarely to confront the Auschwitz extermination legend, Christophersen's first-hand account was a major factor in the growth and development of Holocaust revisionism.

"The Auschwitz Lie" caused an immediate sensation in Germany, where it was soon banned. This did not stop publication of German-language editions in Switzerland and Denmark, however, and before long editions appeared in all the major European languages, including several in English. Christophersen predictably came under hostile and mendacious media attack. Numerous newspaper reports, for example, inaccurately referred to him as a former "SS officer."

Wartime Experiences

Born in 1918, Christophersen worked as a farmer in Schleswig, northern Germany, until the outbreak of war in Europe. Called to military service, he was badly wounded in 1940 while serving in the western campaign. After recuperating and undergoing some specialized agricultural training, he was assigned to a research center in German-occupied Ukraine which experimentally cultivated a variety of dandelion (*kok saghyz*) as an alternative source of natural rubber, to be produced from the plant's latex.

Thies Christophersen, 1918-1997

In the face of Soviet military advances, and the withdrawal of German forces from Ukraine, the center was transferred to the labor camp of Raisko, a satellite of Auschwitz. During the period he lived and worked there — January to December 1944 — Christophersen was responsible for the daily work of inmate laborers. The young second lieutenant supervised about 300 workers, many of them Jewish, of whom 200 were women from the Raisko camp, and 100 were men from the nearby Auschwitz-Birkenau camp. On a number of occasions he visited Birkenau where, it is alleged, hundreds of thousands of Jews were systematically gassed to death in May-July 1944. Although he knew of Birkenau's crematories, it wasn't until after the war that he first heard anything of "gas chamber" killings or mass exterminations.

A Prolific Writer

After the war he returned to farming. A *ardent* and life-long defender of the interests of German farmers, he also turned his considerable talents as a writer to this cause. For years he edited and published the quarterly magazine *Die Bauernschaft* ("The Farming Community"), which served as a forum for his straight-forward reporting and forthright and often witty commentary on farming, cultural, historical and current social-political issues. He also ran the Nordwind book service, which distributed a range of works, including revisionist titles.

In March 1988 he testified in the "Holocaust trial" in Toronto of German-Canadian Ernst Zündel. Under oath, he detailed his wartime experiences at Auschwitz, and answered numerous pointed questions by the prosecuting attorney. (His testimony is related in the remarkable record of the trial compiled by Barbara Kulaszka, *Did Six Million Really Die?*, and in Robert Lenski's book, *The Holocaust on Trial*.)

Persecution and Exile

Although he was never prosecuted for his "Auschwitz Lie" booklet, he was put on trial for other outspoken writings. In the 1980s he served a year in prison on charges of "insulting the state" ("*Verunglimpfung des Staates*") and "insulting the memory of the dead."

Driven from his beloved homeland, he was forced to live in exile in Denmark, Belgium and Switzerland. (To its credit, Denmark rejected German requests to extradite him, pointing out that he had

a valid residency permit and had not broken any Danish law.) While Danish police stood by, hundreds of "anti-fascist" thugs attacked his modest home in the small town of Kollund, pelting it with stones and defacing it with spray paint. They also severely damaged his book warehouse and, using corrosive acid, ravaged his car and expensive copy equipment. After months of such abuse, in 1995 Christophersen was forced to leave Denmark. Ill with cancer, he sought treatment in Switzerland, but in December 1995 was forced to leave that country. He next found temporary refuge in Spain. Meanwhile, the German printer of his *Bauernschaft* magazine was fined 50,000 marks.

During his final months, German officials treated him as a virtual "enemy of the state." His bank account in Germany was closed down, and in early 1996 a German court rejected his application to return to his homeland for a brief visit to attend the burial of a son who had died in a car crash. On the grounds that he had no permanent place of residence, in 1996 German authorities cancelled his state medical insurance coverage and stopped payment of his modest state retirement pension (into which he had paid for 45 years), as well as his military service pension. Christophersen was arrested for the last time a few weeks before his death, but a German judge declared him too ill to be jailed. Released to a son's custody, he died a few days later.

Life-Affirming Outlook

In an essay about his experiences, "Auschwitz and West German Justice," published in the Spring 1985 *Journal of Historical Review*, Thies Christophersen summed up his travails and his defiant but optimistic outlook on life:

> When I wrote my ["Auschwitz Lie"] report, I was criticized on the grounds that, although I was in the camp and saw nothing of mass gassings, that fact did not necessarily mean that there were none ...
>
> I have received thousands of letters and calls. Many of those who contacted me can confirm my statements, but are afraid to do so publicly. Some of those are SS men who were brutally mistreated and even tortured in Allied captivity.
>
> I also immediately contacted those who claimed to know more about mass gassings. My experiences were precisely the same as those of French Professor Paul Rassinier. I have not found any eyewitnesses. Instead, people would tell me that they knew someone who knew someone else, who talked about it. In most cases the alleged eyewitnesses had died. Other supposed eyewitnesses would quickly begin to stammer and stutter when I asked a few precise questions.
>
> ... Our writings may be banned. We may be thrown into prison. Our mail may be inspected. We may be attacked with fire and bombs. Our homes may be searched. We may be kept from obtaining employment or fired from our jobs. We may be slandered, ridiculed and persecuted like the early Christians. But we will suffer and endure it all, and our enemies will thus achieve precisely the opposite of what they intend. Their actions make others interested in what we do. I believe in truth and justice, and I know that one day they will prevail.
>
> — *M. W.*

Italian Scholars Defend Free Speech of 'Holocaust Deniers'

Twenty-one Italian scholars and historians have issued a public statement defending freedom of speech and of historical research on the Holocaust issue, and criticizing the laws in France and Germany that restrict these rights for revisionist scholars who question the orthodox Holocaust extermination story. It specifically cites a French government order banning distribution in France of a book by Swiss revisionist scholar Jürgen Graf on the grounds that it "denies the Holocaust."

Most of the scholars who signed the statement — which was published March 1, 1996, in the Turin daily newspaper *La Stampa* — are professors at various Italian universities. Interestingly, they represent leftist, rightist and centrist political views.

The scholars conclude their appeal with the words: "We are appealing, therefore, to the scholarly community to which we belong, but also to the political world and to the press, so that they react to this state of affairs, and put an end to a tendency that wherever it develops may put the freedom of speech, press and culture in European countries at risk."

In an editorial that called the statement a "provocative protest," *La Stampa* commented: "The historians who signed the letter are challenging a taboo ... Until now, no one in the scientific or academic world, and outside the extreme right, has objected to the banning of denial texts, a ban codified in Germany and France by regulations that consider denial of the Holocaust a crime."

Aftermath of the* Marco Polo *Affair

Critical Study of Holocaust Story Published in Japan

In early 1995 a major Japanese magazine, *Marco Polo*, was forced to shut down because it had published a ten-page article disputing the orthodox Holocaust extermination story. Jewish organizations responded with an international boycott campaign, promptly pressuring major corporations into cancelling advertising. Even Japan's Foreign Ministry intervened. Under this pressure, the large Bungei Shunju publishing company quickly caved in. News of the unprecedented surrender received worldwide media coverage. (A detailed report appeared in the March-April 1995 *Journal*.)

Further underscoring the growing impact of Holocaust revisionism, a few months later, and with memories of the *Marco Polo* incident still fresh, the first book-length Japanese-language presentation of Holocaust revisionism appeared in Nippon's bookstores.

"The Auschwitz Debate" (*Aushuvittsu no souten*) is a handsome 350-page hardcover work, illustrated with numerous photographs. It is published by Libertà, a Tokyo firm known for its leftist books on environmental issues and works critical of nuclear power policy.

Author Aiji Kimura, born in 1937, is an investigative journalist who worked for years at the research section of NTV television in Tokyo while he was also a labor union activist. Among his several previously published books is a critical treatment of the Japanese and American roles in the Gulf War. An assiduous researcher, Kimura has conducted his own on-site investigation of the alleged gas chambers at Birkenau and Auschwitz, where he also interviewed Auschwitz State Museum archives director Franciszek Piper.

Among the sources cited in the book's 15-page bibliography are not only standard Holocaust works, but also 13 books and eleven pamphlets published by the Institute for Historical Review, and 15 articles from the IHR's *Journal of Historical Review*. In this book, Kimura describes his research trip to California in late 1994:

> In November 1994 I visited the Institute, which is located south of Los Angeles ... There I questioned [Mark] Weber and exchanged views with him, videotaped an interview, and purchased a one-meter pile of some 30 books, which I carried back in my rucksack ... Naturally, their [IHR's] themes are not confined to the "Holocaust" ...

A Hard-Hitting Examination

Kimura not only carefully investigates the Holocaust extermination story, he critically examines the uses to which it has been put, and the reasons for its durability. His book traces the origins of "the Holocaust" to wartime propaganda, and tracks down false extermination claims from the Nuremberg Trials, which he calls "the most shameful farce ever conducted in the name of law." Much evidence favorable to the Nuremberg defendants was suppressed or has "disappeared," he shows. He *also* establishes that key Holocaust "evidence" is based on false testimony extracted by torture from Auschwitz commandant Rudolf Höss and others, or on demonstrably unreliable "eyewitness" testimony.

Kimura shows how the Holocaust story has been drastically changed over the years, showing, for example, how numerous "gas chamber" claims have been quietly abandoned. He identifies technical absurdities of Holocaust claims, and cites on-site forensic investigations at Auschwitz and other former camps. Kimura relates how Auschwitz "gas chambers" have been "rebuilt" since the end of the war.

He examines and ridicules the frantic efforts to shore up the crumbling Holocaust edifice, citing the Jewish-Zionist grip on the American media. Kimura tells readers about the routine name-calling, guilt by association, smears and even terrorism against "Holocaust deniers," including the devastating 1984 arson attack against the Institute for Historical Review. He describes the laws in France, Germany and some other countries that forbid any dissenting views on this issue. Whatever basis the "Holocaust" may have in fact, Kimura questions its use in justifying Zionist policies in the Middle East. He shows how the Holocaust campaign is used to support Israel's policies, particularly its dispossession and suppression of the Palestinian Arabs.

A News Conference Challenge

In February 1995 the feisty Kimura added drama to an otherwise colorless news conference in Tokyo, at which the Bungei Shunju president abjectly apologized for the offending *Marco Polo* article. The Wiesenthal Center's Rabbi Abraham Cooper was on hand to accept the Japanese surrender.

Kimura loudly harangued Cooper, demanding that the publishing company executive explain specifically what was inaccurate about the *Marco Polo* article. He pointedly asked Cooper about evidence that Simon Wiesenthal collaborated with the Gestapo during the war years, but the rabbi avoided the issue. Kimura also defended historical revisionism, speaking of its peaceful, honorable, and truth-seeking purpose. Hundreds of fellow journalists

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「マルコポーロ」誌廃刊にいたるドラスチックな展開のなかで、肝心の「ガス室」については十分な論議が尽くされず、問題は残されたままになっている。この問題の争点はどこにあるのか、なぜそのような議論が出てくるのか、欧米での論争をフォローし、現地調査をふまえながら、問題の核心に迫る。

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アウシュヴィッツの争点*目次

Title page and dust jacket back cover of Kimura's revisionist study, "The Auschwitz Debate" (*Aushuvittsu no souten*). It says: "In the dramatic events leading up to the shutting down of *Marco Polo* magazine, there was not sufficient discussion of the essential matter of the 'gas chambers.' The question still lingers. Where does the debate lie, and why is there such a debate? This book follows the controversy in Europe and the United States, includes on-site investigations, and leads to the heart of the matter."

responded to Kimura's remarks with spontaneous applause and expressions of agreement.

A Lively Seminar

As part of its capitulation, the Bungei Shunju company had to submit to stiff and humiliating conditions imposed by the Wiesenthal Center. In addition to a Center-organized "education" seminar in Japan for company employees, Bungei Shunju staff members had to fly to Los Angeles for Holocaust indoctrination courses at the Wiesenthal Center. Still other staff members were to travel to Auschwitz, and then write a new article for publication about the Holocaust issue from the "proper perspective." The Bungei Shunju company also agreed to publish a "proper" article deploring the *Marco Polo* episode, and to give $50,000 to the Wiesenthal Center.

Details of this extraordinary arrangement were revealed in the August 1995 issue of the Japanese magazine *Uwasa no Shinsoh* ("The Truth of Rumors"). The tough, convincingly written article was quietly contemptuous of the Bungei Shunju company's groveling to the Wiesenthal Center. While also critical of the Wiesenthal Center, the article was remarkably sympathetic to revisionism and revisionists.

Most of the article focused on the unusual three-day "education seminar" for Bungei Shunju journalists, editors and other employees. Rabbi Cooper and two other Wiesenthal Center officials addressed the attendees, who were obliged to sit through showings of three Holocaust propaganda films: "Genocide," "Echoes that Remain," and "Liberation." Cooper expressed the hope that the seminar would help in "building permanent friendships between the Jewish and Japanese people."

Although Japanese participants reportedly had been selected for their docility, and there were even some soft-ball questions planted in the audience ahead of time, the seminar proved less successful than the organizers had anticipated. (This was also

conceded in a *Los Angeles Times* report, May 27, 1995.)

One editor asked Rabbi Cooper what Jews have done to incur the wrath of so many nations over the centuries, saying that such intense hostility did not arise from nothing. Other participants questioned arrogant Jewish claims of "chosen people" status, or pointedly asked about Israel's repression of Palestinians.

Off the record, participants described the seminar as pure Zionist propaganda. Many noticed that none of the points raised in the original *Marco Polo* article was refuted, and no attempt was made to refute them. Several participants said that after this obvious brain-washing effort, they are now more sympathetic than ever to the revisionist position.

An Italian Voice for Freedom

Now in its 17th year of publication, an impressive Italian journal, *l'Uomo libero* ("The Free Man"), has been a consistently intelligent and outspoken champion of free speech and intellectual inquiry, and a staunch defender of Europe's cultural heritage. Editorial director is Mario Consoli, who is also a frequent contributor. The editor is Piero Sella, historian and author of several books.

Individual issues of this attractive intellectual quarterly are often thematically devoted to a particular cultural, political or historical subject. While previous issues have dealt with historical revisionism and the legal persecution in Europe of revisionists, a recent issue is entirely devoted to this subject.

This 128-page "Pluralism and Revisionism" issue of April 1996 (No. 41) includes a lengthy essay by Swiss educator and revisionist author Jürgen Graf, with a group photo of speakers (including Graf) at the Twelfth (1994) Conference of the Institute for Historical Review in Irvine, California. Also in this issue is a detailed revisionist bibliography of books and periodicals in the major European languages, including a listing of the contents of every issue of the IHR's *Journal of Historical Review.*

As this special issue of *l'Uomo libero* demonstrates, dissident views of the Holocaust story are not (yet?) illegal in Italy — in contrast to the harsh persecution of revisionist "thought criminals" in France, Germany, Austria and a few other countries.

For further information, write: *l'Uomo libero*, Casella postale 1658, 20123 Milano, Italy.

Why the Holocaust Must Remain a Dogma

"The terms 'fascist' and 'Nazi' are today devoid of any real political or cultural content, and are instead insults used to bash an opponent — that is, anyone who dares oppose one-world and multi-racial democracy ... Through the use of an incredible machinery to manipulate public opinion, the victors of the Second World War succeeded not only in preventing a resurgence of fascism and National Socialism, but also of the traditional cultural and spiritual values that have permeated the life of Europe for countless centuries.

"Here's just how it's done: Traditional European values, such as love of homeland and family, heroism, honesty, sense of duty and spirituality, are equated with fascism and Nazism, with Hitler and Mussolini. Once this equation is accepted, it is enough simply to activate anti-fascist propaganda to strangle any revival of the values that are dangerous for those in power.

"This labeling as evil of the Europe that was vanquished in the Second World War accomplishes much more than merely marginalize fascists and National Socialists. It discredits the entire system of values that has sustained for millennia a civilization of a greatness that is unique in history. Standing accused in the dock along with Mussolini and Hitler are Plato and Dante, Machiavelli and Nietzsche, Caesar and Napoleon, Rome and the Holy Roman Empire.

"... Since the Nuremberg Tribunal, the most effective instrument for criminalizing fascism and National Socialism has proven to be the charge of genocide of the Jews. Six Million — a round, horrifying figure. Men and women, elderly and infants, eliminated merely because they were Jews ...

"Today the Holocaust is a lead weight meant for all time to tie down the feet of Germany and all of Europe.... Any threadbare pretext will suffice at any time to start up talk of the Holocaust. With the passage of time, the propaganda offensive does not weaken, but grows ever more intense, and in ever more European countries special laws are promulgated to protect the Jewish 'truth' ...

"The Holocaust must remain a myth, a dogma, sheltered from all revisionist and truthful scrutiny. The collapse of this dogma must inevitably call into question the entire current interpretation of contemporary history ... This would finally make possible a really pluralistic debate about the future of Europe ... and make possible the reintroduction of those values that, in opposition to one-worldism, restore to nations their right of identity and independence."

— Mario Consoli, editorial director of *l'Uomo libero* (Milan), in the "Pluralism and Revisionism" issue, No. 41, of April 1996.

German Television Report Features IHR Interview

Portions of an interview filmed at the office of the Institute for Historical Review were featured in a television report broadcast on two German regional television networks. The half-hour report, "Neo-Nazis Online: The Advance of the Extremists on the Internet," was shown on the "Shaft of Light" series broadcast in late 1996 on the SDR and WDR networks.

While most of the report focused on the activities of such figures as National Socialist leader Gerhard Lauck, "White Aryan Resistance" organizer Tom Metzger, and "Stormfront" Internet home page operator Don Black, a few minutes dealt with revisionism and the Institute.

The IHR is described as the "headquarters" of revisionism, which is characterized as a particularly perfidious form of anti-Semitism because it seeks to "relativize" the Holocaust story.

Simon Wiesenthal Center employee Rick Eaton is shown telling viewers that because it presents arguments in a scholarly way, the Institute is possibly "the most dangerous of all" the "hate" groups.

Both the outside and the inside of the IHR's office-warehouse building (inaccurately described as a "wood barracks") are shown. Greg Raven, seen working at his desk, is identified as the "system operator" responsible for the IHR's Internet connection. Two portions of a filmed interview with IHR Director Mark Weber are shown. Described as the Institute's "ideologue," he gives a summary definition of Holocaust revisionism, and tells viewers that revisionism has now spread to the point that it can no longer be effectively suppressed.

The interview with Weber, and the shots of the Institute building, were filmed by Dr. Thomas Aders of SDR television in Stuttgart during an August 22 visit to southern California.

Simultaneously as the narrator describes the IHR conference speakers list as a "who's who of history distorters," brief clips are shown of Robert Faurisson, David Irving and Ernst Zündel addressing the 1994 IHR Conference.

While the report is effective in its purpose, it is essentially a glitsy, high-tech smear job. For example, it inaccurately characterizes the Institute, at least by implication, as a "neo-Nazi" organization. It's essential bias is manifest in its completely uncritical, even sympathetic, portrayal of the Wiesenthal Center and the Anti-Defamation League, and their spokespersons. This in spite of these organizations' well-documented record of distorting historical truth to further their ultra-Zionist objectives.

Thousands Check Out IHR Material

Internet Web Site Offers Instant Worldwide Access to Revisionism

Through his personal Internet Web site, *Journal* associate editor Greg Raven makes available an impressive selection of material from the Institute for Historical Review, including IHR *Journal* articles and reviews and IHR leaflets. A listing of every item that has ever appeared in this *Journal* enables callers to quickly search for titles and authors. New Web site items are added as time permits.

This revisionist material is instantly available to millions around the world, free of censorship by governments or powerful special interest groups. It can be reached 24 hours a day from 146 countries through the World Wide Web (WWW), a multimedia Internet service.

Each month thousands of persons in dozens of countries visit this Web site, with the average caller viewing 12 files (or articles) per visit. Because it is linked to several other revisionist (and anti-revisionist) Web sites, visitors can easily access vast amounts of additional information.

In recent months, the number of daily "hits" or visits to Raven's Web site jumped sharply — from several dozen to hundreds daily. In January, the site was receiving nearly two thousand visits every day. (For more about the IHR and the cyberspace revolution, see "Revisionist Global Computer Outreach" in the July-August 1995 *Journal*.)

The Web site address for IHR material is **http://www.kaiwan.com/~ihrgreg**

E-mail messages should be sent to the IHR in care of **ihrgreg@kaiwan.com**

'Hateful' Term Needed?

"[Abraham] Foxman [National Director of the Anti-Defamation League] believes there must be a better term to describe the deniers. 'To call them Holocaust deniers is too sanitized, and to call them what they claim to be, Holocaust revisionists, is to give them credence they do not deserve. We need a term that is hateful, a term that conveys the nature of the danger they present — that goes to the essence of their challenge to the Jewish people'."

— Quoted by Stewart Ain in "Six Million Did Not Die in the Gas Chambers," *Inside* (Jewish Federation of Greater Philadelphia), Winter 1994, p. 92.

Letters

Revelation and Activism

Nice job with the [Nov.–Dec. 1995] *Journal*. In particular, Jürgen Graf's article really drove home what I've always suspected, helping me to fully understand the consequences of the outcome of World War II. I plan to become a European history teacher, to promote the truth and help reinvigorate an educational system that is riddled with lies. I want to make sure that young people, and especially university students, know who is responsible for all this.

Our Western Civilization class recently covered Hitler, World War II and the Holocaust, with the professor performing the usual verbal rituals, stressing the "unique historical nature" of the wartime treatment of Europe's Jews. I wanted to shout out, "Students, you are being spoon fed a huge lie. Think! Question what he is saying!," but I kept quiet, not wishing to jeopardize my plans for the future with a futile gesture. All the same, I am distributing copies of several *Journal* articles to fellow students.

The *Journal* has set me free. I cannot thank you enough. You are creating legions of revisionists.

P. D.
Cincinnati, Ohio

New 'Lessons' of War

Ask an American veteran of World War II about the "lessons" of that conflict, and he's likely to tell you that we fought to protect our country from aggression by Japan and Nazi Germany. But ask a young American about World War II's "lessons," and he is likely to mention "the Holocaust" and something about fighting "racism" or "fascism." The Holocaust campaign is drastically changing our perception of the century's most important conflict. Young Americans are now taught that the war was a struggle against "racism" and white nationalism.

The Holocaust campaign is part of a well-organized effort to convince Americans that nationalism is all right for everyone except white people. It is a major weapon in the effort to impose "multiculturalism" on America — something that Americans of the World War II generation overwhelmingly opposed. Today anyone who voices support for the policies and views that were entirely taken for granted prior to the cultural revolution of the 1960s is damned as a fascist or neo-Nazi. Let's be honest: Hitler had more respect for the cultural and national integrity of even his enemies than do today's multiculturalists for the cultural and national character of the United States or any European country.

Thanks to your fine work, things will change and American-Americans will once again be free. Your work is very important. Enclosed is a contribution [$68] to help your cause.

K. J.
Colorado Springs, Col.

Sincere Collaboration: A Russian Responds to Zündel

I've just finished reading Ernst Zündel's essay, "My Impressions of the New Russia," in the Sept.–Oct. 1995 *Journal*. While it is extremely interesting reading, there are also mistakes and misunderstandings that non-Russian readers may not recognize.

Mr. Zhirinovsky and his Liberal Democratic Party staff understandably did their best to present themselves and their party to Mr. Zündel in the best possible light during his visit to Russia. They did a good job, but what he saw was well-done propaganda facade. It's not important if Vladimir Zhirinovsky is a Jew or a half-Jew. It's a personal matter, and nothing more. But his clearly un-Russian appearance is, to put it politely, not in keeping with his self-appointed role as a Russian nationalist leader. Imagine, for example, a Black American leader who looked Chinese. Regardless of the sincerity of his views, it would look rather odd.

More important are Zhirinovsky's activities in Russian political life since 1991, when, as an all but unknown politician, he finished third in the presidential elections. During the five years since then, he has given countless speeches, hosted numerous news conferences, and provoked one *scandal after* another — but without a single substantive activity as a responsible leader of the nationalist opposition. As he has shown time and time again (and as he confirmed to Zündel) Zhirinovsky will do anything for publicity. As the last presidential elections show, the Russians don't trust him. Zhirinovsky is not a genuine nationalist leader or Russian patriot, much less a "neo-fascist." He plays the role of an agent provocateur, and one must be careful in dealing with him.

In speaking about the Communist Party and former Communist Party apparatchiks, Zündel confuses two quite different things. The present-day Communist Party of Russia (CPR), lead by Gennady Zyuganov, has nothing in common with the old Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) of Gorbachev and Co. Zyuganov's CPR promotes Russian and Eurasian nationalism — in a rather mild form, to be sure, but realistic and sincere, unlike Zhirinovsky's fairy tale ravings — along with some ideas of social democracy and nationally-ori-

ented socialism. Zyuganov's Party publishes or supports such leading dissident newspapers as *Sovietskaya Rossia* ("Soviet Russia") and *Zavtra* ("Tomorrow"). This Party has the largest faction in the Russian parliament (Duma), and its leader was the major challenger to Yeltsin in last year's presidential elections. They are very unusual "Communists."

President Yeltsin, Prime Minister Chernomyridin, and many other ranking politicians and officials are former high-ranking CPSU Communists. The government bureaucrats, officials, financial dealers, and so forth, who are prospering in today's Russia are actually former CPSU apparatchiks who have transformed themselves into pro-Western "democrats."

Contrary to the impression given in the western media, the 1996 presidential election was not a contest between Communists and Democrats, but a struggle between forces loyal to Russia, and the forces of internationalism beholden to the New World Order. It is perhaps a great, ironic joke of history that the Communist Party of Russia is today the most important political force opposing the pro-Western course of President Yeltsin, unrestrained westernization (Americanization), and the "New World Order." (There are also some small Communist groups of doctrinaire Marxists, but they have no significant political clout or popular support.)

Zündel spoke admiringly of former KGB Major General Alexander Sterligov. In spite of his efforts to portray himself as a sincere patriot, Sterligov has never had any real political importance or popularity among Russian nationalists.

It's a pity that Zündel was not able to meet with the leaders of Russia's authentic patriotic opposition. These include Yuri Vlasov, a prominent essayist and writer, Serguei Baburin of the Russian All-Peoples Union (and Duma vice chief), Victor Alksnis, a retired Colonel, political analyst and writer, Nicolai Lyssenko of the National Republican Party, writer and essayist Alexander Dugin, and Victor Beszverkhy of the Union of Veneds, a neo-paganist spiritual and political organization. While none of these men is a Communist, many support (sometimes covertly) Zyuganov's CPR.

Zündel is mistaken about Vladimir Rezun (Suvorov) and his book, *Icebreaker*. Nearly every informed and honest Russian dislikes this book and its author because Rezun is not a sincere searcher for historical truth. His book is actually a masterfully done piece of hate propaganda. During the Soviet era, we learned to recognize such propaganda, including historiographic propaganda. Now several Russian revisionist historians, including some friends of mine, are preparing a well-researched refutation of Rezun to be entitled "Icebreaker's Lie: Rezun Revisited." Parenthetically, Rezun was never a "senior" Soviet military intelligence officer. He was only a rank and file officer, with no special access to privileged information not directly connected with his work.

It is true, as Zündel mentions, that Russians ardently hate traitors and defectors. This is only natural and right, I think, especially those who betray military or intelligence service. We may be able to excuse a defector who acted to save his life, and who did not pass on any secret information to foreign governments. (This was the case of Alexander Orlov, whose story is given in *Deadly Illusions* by John Costello and Oleg Tsarev [Crown, 1993].) But the Rezun case is quite different, and inexcusable.

Every intelligent Russian nationalist understands the importance of good relations between Russia and Germany. Such friendship and alliance is not only possible but necessary and mutually beneficial. Russian patriots really want to "build bridges" for such an alliance, which would be the most powerful blow to the New World Order. Right now only one side is working toward this goal: the Russian one.

While I respect Mr. Zündel's nationalist feelings, he should respect or at least try to understand ours. Granted, Soviet atrocities in eastern and central Europe at the end of, and just after, the Second World War were terrible. Nobody can be proud of those misdeeds, and nobody denies them. But it should be recalled that these came only after terrible German cruelties in Russia, during three years of harsh occupation. As Zündel writes, "that wasn't the work of nice people." While not forgetting what happened, let us at least try to pardon or set aside all that to work together for common goals.

Zündel also writes: "I believe that if we revisionists quickly get our act together, we can help free the Russians from some terrific misconceptions ..." Since the time of Peter the Great, so often in our history "enlightened" Europeans have been trying the help "backward" Russia to "understand." No thanks! We don't need "enlightenment," but rather cooperation on the basis of mutual respect. We don't presume to explain your history to you. We desire sincere collaboration on an open, honest and equal basis.

In the spirit of historical revisionism, I want to stress: we have our own heritage, and we don't need others to explain to us how to appreciate it. Of course, we are interested in what people outside our country think, and we are open to discussion. But we also have our own views about European, American and world history and affairs.

We want to translate and publish in Russia as many of the revisionist classics as possible. At the same time, we have many solid works of history that deserve translating and publishing abroad. (I don't include such court historians as Dimitri Volkogonov or such mediocre amateurs as the playwright Edvard Radzinsky, each of whose books have received

praise in the United States.)

We have survived decades of terrible distortion, propaganda and brainwashing. But a similar propagandistic distortion, even if less overt, now plays a role in the so-called "free world." It is true that we lack "printing and duplicating equipment." Today we are poor, but only materially, not in knowledge or ideas. Right now we Russians enjoy a remarkable, although perhaps temporary, freedom of speech. Let's make use of this opportunity for our common goals.

Nikodim M. Ipatiev
Moscow, Russia

Sheftel Unfair to Brentar

Yoram Sheftel's book about the John Demjanjuk case [reviewed in the Nov.–Dec. 1995 *Journal*] is valuable and enlightening. While it deals mainly with the author's work as defense attorney for the Ukrainian-born auto worker, it sheds light on the more basic issue as to how and why the Holocaust story has achieved its sacred status in Western society. Still, the book is not without flaws.

"The one and only purpose" of extraditing Demjanjuk to Israel, writes Sheftel (p. 7) "was to conduct a special 'Israeli-style' show-trial, to teach Israeli children the story of the Holocaust and heighten 'Holocaust awareness' among the public." Actually, another purpose of this campaign was to offset the growing influence of Holocaust revisionism. "At a time when there are those who even deny the Holocaust ever took place," said Israel's Attorney General, Yitzhak Zamir (not be confused with Yitzhak Shamir), "it is important to remind the world of what a fascist regime is capable of ... and in this respect the Demjanjuk trial will fulfill an important function." (*Cleveland Jewish News*, March 21, 1986, p. 16).

A much more serious defect is Sheftel's shabby treatment of Jerome Brentar, the travel agent who did so much to help win freedom for John Demjanjuk. In a totally unjustified slap at the Cleveland businessman (inaccurately identified as "Berntar"), Sheftel castigates him as a "foul anti-Semite" (p. 122). This smear actually tells us more about Sheftel's peculiar mind-set than about Brentar.

Sheftel makes no mention of Brentar's years-long sacrifice on behalf of Demjanjuk — at great financial cost and considerable damage to his reputation. At a time when few outside his family circle believed in his innocence, Brentar worked tirelessly to secure justice for this hounded man. It was he, for example, who enlisted the support of Ohio Congressman James Traficant, the only public official who had the courage to openly call for justice for Demjanjuk. [See Brentar's essay, "My Campaign for Justice for John Demjanjuk," in the Nov.–Dec. 1993 *Journal*.] Without Jerry Brentar's generous assistance, Demjanjuk likely would have been put to death in Israel.

Paul Grubach
Lyndhurst, Ohio

Jews and Bolshevism: A Revised View

In my letter in the Sept.–Oct. 1995 *Journal*, "Jews in the Bolshevik Takeover of Russia: A Dissenting View," I undertook to defend the record of the Jewish leaders of Bolshevism. I now believe that I was attempting to defend the indefensible, because I have since learned that the Communist seizure and consolidation of power was much crueler then I had imagined.

The only defense I can offer is that the Bolsheviks never intended that things would work out the way they did. What I think happened was this: for years prior to 1917, the Bolsheviks drew up plans for their ideal society in European cafes and meeting halls. After coming to power in Russia they proceeded to impose their utopian plans on a nation they did not understand, and on people who had no interest in sacrificing for an ideal society. Russians do not take easily to discipline, ask little more from life than minimal personal comforts, and have a centuries-old tradition of passive resistance.

While the catastrophe that ensued was not at all what the Bolsheviks had anticipated, it was what any astute person should have expected. As for the severe repressions that followed, we might paraphrase Byron: Hell hath no fury like a refuted intellectual.

Richard Phillips
Cranston, Rhode Island

Fascinating Book

Just this afternoon I finished reading *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*. I found Dr. Butz's book absolutely fascinating. Until now I was firmly but uncomfortably convinced of the Holocaust and Six Million myths.

I am neither anti-Jewish nor an Aryan separatist. I am not a fan or follower of Hitler. I am pro-truth, and I want to further investigate this subject. Thank you, Arthur Butz, for removing my blindness.

JoAnn M.
Riverside, Calif.

More Distorted

Thanks for telling the other side of World War II. As part of an international campaign to demonize the West and vilify the German people, the official version of history is becoming ever more distorted.

Those who invent and propagandize their horrible stories can do anything they want, because anyone who courageously points out the lies is instantly damned and earns the condemnation of the ignorant masses.

Keep up the good work.

J. R. E.
San Francisco, Calif.

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Shermer, just back from an inspection of the sites of the wartime concentration camps of Auschwitz, Majdanek, Mauthausen and Dachau, cites a "convergence of evidence" in his defense of the Holocaust story.

Weber, Director of the Institute for Historical Review, delivers a powerful summary of the revisionist critique of the Holocaust story, and gives a devastating response to Shermer's arguments.

Shermer, editor-publisher of *Skeptic* magazine, makes one startling concession after another. He acknowledges that numerous Holocaust claims — once "proven" by eyewitnesses and courts — are obviously not true. Shermer concedes, for example, that an execution "gas chamber" at Majdanek — shown to thousands of trusting tourists yearly — is a fraud. (At Nuremberg the Allies "proved" that the Germans murdered *one and half million* people at this one camp.)

This two hour clash — at a special IHR meeting on July 22, 1995 — dramatically gives the lie to the often-repeated claim that the Holocaust story is "undebatable."

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